THE GREAT LEADER



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BY

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Foreword by

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Foreword

I read this book in manuscript. I don't mind confessing that I am rather hard to please and involved writing gives me physical aches. By the time I had gone through the first half I realised that there was something of peculiar value about the book which the reader ought not to miss, but which the average reader was very likely to miss unless he was given a timely warning. So I thought it would be advisable to furnish the book with a foreword. The book called to my mind pictures of the crude village architects in the hills, who start building without any of those elaborate plans which are indispensable to town dwellers. But as stone rises upon stone a dwelling begins to take shape, and in time, we have a house strong enough to provide shelter to man and beast against wind and rain, and as commodious as the rude dwellers in hilly tracts need.

The writer puts facts before the reader and without any elaborate art, facts upon facts and more facts, until two clear-cut figures emerge as if out of a haze of mist and the reader finds himself suddenly, almost without warning, face to face with two men, one thin and tall who, one feels, has the shadows of Dadabhai Naoroji, Justice Ranade and Mr. G. K. Gokhale standing behind him, while the second figure is that of an other-worldly faqir, who is busy weaving visions of India of the days of the Rishis until picture after picture dissolves into nothingness. The tall thin man is of course the giant of the story, Qaid-i-Azam M. A. Jinnah, while the faqir is Mahatma Gandhi. Mr. Jinnah, as the veil of the past lifts itself and his portrait becomes clear, stands forth as the champion of a liberal nationalism, of which Dadabhai Naoroji, Ranade and Gokhale were the first prophets in modern India and Mr. Gandhi's tragedy, as viewed from the standpoint of a liberal nationalist, is that while he claims to be a nationalist, representing everybody who lives under India's sun, in life and thought he has

been but a standard-bearer of Hindu revivalism and readily takes his place by the side of Mr. Tilak, Swami Dayanand, Bhai Permanand and others of the same way of thought.

The author writes without prejudice. The picture he has painted is absolutely true. It is his sheer lack of art that makes his portraits so true, genuine and convincing. All he has done is to bring together facts which must be still fresh in the memories of many thousands in India, and he lets the facts tell their own tale. I have an idea that if he had started with conscious art, very likely he would have fallen short of the remarkable achievements he has actually made. As it is, the portraits he has drawn are convincing and his lack of art is a witness of his sincerity. It makes the book a valuable study. Indian politics revolves largely round the persons of the two great leaders, Mr. Jinnah and Mr. Gandhi, and I sincerely recommend the study of this book to every unbiassed and patriotic student of Indian Politics.

F. K. KHAN DURRANI.

The Dwarf and the Giant

"The Mickey Mouse of a man."

Sarojini Naidu.

THE Giant stepped on the shoes of Merry England two years after the Dwarf had quitted it, but the Dwarf was born seven years before the Giant. Both of them spoke Gujarati as their mother tongue, although they fain would mimic English as their foster-mother's language. It is mysterious why of all the splendid places in Hindustan, the Almighty Father favoured a Hindu and Muslim family of Rajkot with the illustrious birth of those two brilliant sons of India, thus putting forth the divine formula of fifty-fifty in political representation between the two major communities of our country.

While the family of the Dwarf was content to live in a rambling, old, weather-beaten, shot-riddled house in Porbandar, and reluctantly shifted to Rajkot, when the Dwarf was seven years old, five days distant by the bullock-cart or one hundred and twenty miles from Porbandar, the family of the Giant had already reached Karachi, with a giant commercial stride, and settled down there in a very prosperous fashion. *Via* England the Dwarf went from Rajkot to Bombay, and also *via* England the Giant went to Bombay from Karachi, and there the two made-in-England pleaders, Dwarf Law Esq, and Giant Law Esq, would have easily shaken

hands in the Bar Room of the Bombay High Court. But as ill-luck would have it, the Dwarf had already been bundled out of the country across the Arabian Sea to South Africa by "the giant hand of circumstances", as Stevenson would say, and there he was engaged in new exploits, like the proverbial mouse leading the imperial camel by the nose-string !

It is customary of the people of the West, of which our heroes have once been ardent advocates, to refer to their leaders by their nicknames. A nickname is a word of endearment. Hence, if I refer to Mr. Gandhi as the Dwarf, I mean no disrespect, descredit, or disparagement. Mrs. Sarojini Naidu has referred to Mr. Gandhi as the "Mickey Mouse." And Mr. Gandhi has liked the nickname. My reference to Mr. Gandhi is just as affectionate and proceeds from a warm heart.

Mr. Mohammad Ali Jinnah is of course the Giant of my story. He has the unique honour of having been born on Christmas Day. It was the year of grace eighteen hundred and seventy-six. Luckily the Christmas fell on Sunday. It was another happy coincidence. Thus if astrological readings have anything to do with one's future, the new infant was destined from his very birth to be a great man.

Little Jinnah was the first-born child of his parents. His father, Jinnah Poonja, was a prosperous hide merchant. He belonged to a mercantile Khoja family of Rajkot. Being one of the biggest exporters of hides, he found Karachi a more convenient place for his centre of activities, and shifted there. The father, like the son, was tall and slim. Therefore, he was called "Jinnah" which means lean or something to that effect in Gujarati. Thus according to popular tradition among the Khojas, it forms the surname of our hero.

One wishes that the house in which the hero was born were still there, and could be preserved as a national memorial. But alas ! the historic house is no more there, although the general character of the locality is still available for observation and study. The holy house—holy because of our hero—was located in a thickly-populated part of Karachi. It was plagued with narrow lanes and narrower by-lanes. The house rested on huge wooden pillars. It had broad overhanging wooden balconies and verandahs.

Boy Jinnah passed the Matriculation Examination from the Mission High School at Karachi. At school he had shown glimmerings of brilliance. He had cultivated the habit of stern self-reliance. He had discovered the secret gem of single-handed struggle in the school atmosphere. Sir Frederick Corft, a famous English merchant and a friend of the family, advised that the boy should be sent to England to qualify for the Bar. Consequently the sixteen-year-old "tall, thin boy in a funny long coat" sailed for England in 1892.

Let us move the hand of Father Time to the year of grace eighteen hundred and ninety-two. The stage in Britain was set for general elections. The drama was on. The British air was thick with electioneering speeches. The atmosphere was thrilling for Young Jinnah, because nothing scratches John Bull so much as a scramble for votes. Politics, as Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru quotes an American author to tell us, is the gentle art of getting votes from the poor and money from the rich, promising each to protect him against the other ! Young Jinnah saw this political game for the first time. He came to the inevitable conclusion, like many others, that every man in democracy is supposed to know the value of his vote, but very few can cash it in terms of actual good for the country.

The reign of Queen Victoria marks a high water-mark of British statesmanship. She was seventeen when she came to the throne. "Poor little Queen", said Carlyle, "she is at an age when a girl can hardly be trusted to choose a bonnet for herself, yet a task is laid upon her from which an archangel might shrink." But Queen Victoria did not shrink. She was lucky in having excellent ministers. Home Rule Bill for Ireland may be looked upon as the most generous event of her reign. Unluckily it was opposed tooth and nail by the best brains of democracy.

The Bill was first introduced by Mr. Gladstone when he became Premier for the third time in 1886. It was awaited with the keenest interest and caused a great sensation. On the appointed day the House of Commons was packed to capacity. Never during the last century had there been such an attendance. Amid breathless silence, Mr. Gladstone detailed his scheme. For three and a half hours he kept the attention of his audience. The measure gave rise to much opposition. As many as ninety members of the Liberal Party refused to follow their chief in his new departure. They joined hands with the Conservatives in stoutly resisting the Bill. A new party called the Liberal-Unionists was formed. Even John Bright, the people's tribune, joined the enemies of democracy.

Opposition to the Home Rule Bill for Ireland was strong. In spite of all the eloquence of the aged Premier, it failed to pass. After a discussion lasting two months, the Bill was thrown out by a majority of thirty. Mr. Gladstone advised Her Majesty to dissolve the Parliament. The Parliament was dissolved. Gladstone appealed to the country on the questions of Home Rule. The country voted against Ireland. It voted against democracy. The Conservatives were aided by the Liberal-Unionists. They won the day.

They returned to Westminster with a large majority. Lord Salisbury in 1886 became Prime Minister over a Unionist Government.

It was during the time of Lord Salisbury, a Conservative, that the Dwarf prosecuted his studies. Mr. Gandhi spent most of his time in dietetic experiments and theosophical discussions. Mr. Gandhi had little interest in politics. But the things were different when Mr. Jinnah came upon the scene, and by that time Mr. Gandhi had already returned home. General Elections came round in 1892. It was a momentous year. Mr. Gladstone in his eighty-third year once again scrambled for power. He was a favoured friend of the Indians as well as the Irish people. Indian students adored him. No wonder, Youg Jinnah took easily to Mr. Gladstone and learnt much from his eloquence and statesmanship. Today in Mr. Jinnah's enthusiasms for Pakistan we may detect something of the fervour of Mr. Gladstone for Ireland.

The British Elections of 1892 were not able for the presence of Dadabhoy Naoroji who stood up for a seat in the House of Commons for Central Finsbury. His candidature was warmly supported by the Indian community in England. The Indian students took keen interest. Two most enthusiastic supporters of Dadabhoy Naoroji were Messrs. Chitta Ranjan Das and Mohammed Ali Jinnah.

Mr. Gandhi, when in England, had no touch of nationalism about him whereas Mr. Jinnah was fired with a deep sense of patriotism. Young Jinnah was endowed with a tremendous enthusiasm and an immense amount of energy. He plunged into the election campaign along with other student to work for the "Grand Old Man of India"—Dadabhoys Naoroji. The intellectual merits of Young Jinnah attracted the

attention of the leaders. Dadabhoy Naoroji was already a veteran of mature years. He observed Young Jinnah with his experienced eye. This lad of seventeen, he thought, would go far. The boy needed guidance and counsel. He singled out Young Jinnah for active role in the elections. The boy's briliant part in the campaign would have done honour to a tried politician.

Young Ranjan and Young Jinnah lashed themselves to ceaseless activity in the electioneering campaign. Chitta Ranjan Das had gone to compete for the Indian Civil Service, but the cobweb of official ambition vanished from his vision. He made several speeches in England and staked everything on the election of Dadabhoy Naoroji. Jinnah and Das were glowing with a patriotism. From dawn to dusk, they were wrangled for votes in Central Finsbury. they threw themselves wholeheartedly into the political whirlpool. Books were thrown aside. Overnight they became indispensable lieutenants to the Indian leader. Mr. Prithwis Chandra Ray, the author of *Chitta Ranjan* Das, is of the opinion that Naoroji's success at the polls was due in no small measure to the support which his young Indian admirers gave him. The students had fire in them. This fire of patriotism caught the imagination of the British public like a glowing cinder.

"India was conquered by the sword," said James Maclagan, a Conservative and opponent of liberal policy in Ireland, India and the colonies. "India is retained by the sword," he added.

Chitta Ranjan flared up. He retorted powerfuly at a meeting in Oldham. It was held under the presidency of Mr. Gladstone.

"Gentlemen !" said Chitta Ranjan, "I am sorry to find it given expression in Parliamentary speeches on

more than one occasion that England conquered India by the sword, and by the sword must she keep."

"Listen ! Listen !" said the voices. There was a pindrop silence.

"England, Gentlemen, did no such thing," said Young Ranjan. The liberal and God-fearing folk heaved a sigh of relief. "It was not her swords and bayonets," said the Indian student, "that won for her this vast and glorious Empire ; it was not her valour that achieved this triumph, it was in the main a moral victory or moral triumph. England might well be proud of it."

There was a general chorus of applause for the brilliant Indian student. He gave a remarkable touch to his speech. "To attribute all this to the sword," he said, "and then to argue that the policy of sword is the only policy that ought to be pursued in India is to my mind absolutely base and quite unworthy of an Englishman."

There was a deep philosophical calm. Mr. Gladstone in his closing remarks paid a great tribute to the Indian students and their chief. He exhorted the audience to vote for Dadabhoy Naoroji and thereby give the representative of India chance to speak for his country in the House of commons.

It was too much for the nerves of a Liberal-Unionist. Lord Salisbury wanted no such "nonsense" for India or Ireland. "Dadabhoy Naoroji is a black man," he said, "Don't vote for the black man !"

"Black man ! " said Ranjan. What's a black man ? Does a man become black because he is born in India ? Dadabhoy Naoroji has as white a skin as any man in the British Isles.

"Nay," said Mr. Gladstone, "Dadabhoy Naoroji has a whiter skin than Lord Salisbury !"

The whiteness of Naoroji's skin was visible to all men who could see. Consequently, Lord Salisbury's assault was not a personal affront. It was considered an exhibition of racial arrogance. Young Jinnah and other Indian students protested vigorously. Those were the days of Queen Victoria and the English gentlemen were not yet affected with the "colour bar" mentality of South Africa. Thus Lord Salisbury's mistake was an effective instrument of propaganda in the hands of Indian students during the election campaign.

"Lord Salisbury suffers from racial superiority !" said a voter.

"He is a black skeep !" said another.

This set a keen edge on the nerves of the electors of Central Finsbury and Dadabhoy Naoroji easily walked into St. Stephens.

There was an all-round victory for Mr. Gladstone. Lord Salisbury went to the well. The Liberals were returned with a safe majority. Gladstone became Prime Minister for the fourth time. In 1893 he again brought in his Home Rule Bill for Ireland. This time the measure passed through the House of Commons by a majority of thirty. India had a hand in piloting that historic Bill. Young Jinnah had his share in that notable achievement, as a lieutenant of Dadabhoy Naoroji. The Bill, however, foundered on the reactionary roc in the House of Lords.

Nevertheless, the four-year stay of Young Jinnah in England marks a very important period of history. Due to the efforts of Dadabhoy Naoroji and his young

lieutenants, India came into the limelight of British politics. The Government of India Act of 1892 was passed. It provided for the enlargement of Indian Provincial Councils on an elective basis. Thus it put the country on the first steps of constitutional progress. John Bull began to feel that India and the Indians deserved a better treatment. Public opinion was influenced by Indian residents. Like other Indian students, Young Jinnah played his part. Dadabhoy Naoroji was the founder-president of the Indian Society in London. This society attracted the Indian students. The necessity of associating themselves with the Indian political struggle was impressed on them. This period saw the birth of new India.

While Mr. Jinnah lived in this electrical atmosphere and relished it, Mr. Gandhi had lived rather a dull and indifferent life two years before. While Mr. Gandhi worked hard at his books and performed dietetic experiments, accompanied by facts, the everyday life of Mr. Jinnah was quite the reverse. Mr. Matlubul Hassan Saiyid, the biographer of Mr. Jinnah, once asked his hero about the syllabus of studies for the Bar in England at that time "He said jokingly," says Mr. Saiyid, "that it was no more difficult than to give a number of dinners, some twenty of them, in honour of some big members of the inn of other lawyers of eminence." While the Dwarf had only a lukewarm success in studies, in spite of his burning midnight oil, the Giant went through the curriculum with distinction.

While Mr. Gandhi in moments of childishness, had tried to mimic the English dances, Mr. Jinnah like an intellectual stalwart took a keen interest in dramatic performances. He became a member of the Shakespearean Dramatic Club. Occasionally he took part as an amateur actor. Young Jinnah imbibed Shakespeare profoundly. While Mr. Gandhi used to dive in the Gita

in London, Mr. Jinnah absorbed himself in Shakespeare. That explains an essential difference of outlook in the attitude of Jinnah and Gandhi, Shakespeare has always been and still is the ruling passion of Mr. Jinnah, while Mr. Gandhi in London took to Sir Edwin Arnold's Song Celestial as a duck takes to water, and it has ever since dominated his life and character. There is no wonder if in England Mr. Jinnah fell in love with Shakespeare, the noblest product of English genius, whom Carlyle calls 'the uncrowned king of the English.' The wonder of wonders is how two English gentlemen were able to inclucate in Mr. Gandhi for the first time his life-long love of the Gita. Thus Mr. Gandhi missed the quintessence of English education and began to play with Indian shells in Lincoln's Inn. He should rather have dived deeper into English life, as did Young Jinnah, and postponed his love for Gita until he had returned home. This defect in Mr. Gandhi's education is responsible for many contradictions in his psychological make-up.

There is a deep dramatic touch about the everyday life of Mr. Jinnah. The life of Mr. Gandhi on the other hand is quite colourless. Shakespeare pervades all public and private utterances of the Giant. Sir Krishen Maharaj dominates Mr. Gandhi. A touch of dramatic gesticulation is visible in the public lectures of Mr. Jinnah. Every speech of Mahatma Gandhi, on the other hand, is a sermon on the Gita. In 1940 Mr. Gandhi asked Mr. Jinnah in his spiritual way as to what prefix should he use for him. "what is in a prefix after all," the Giant replied in the Shakespearean manner, "a rose called by any other name smells just as sweet." It is doubtful whether Mr. Gandhi could have referred the line to its context. While Mr. Jinnah has an intense love for Shakespeare, Mr. Gandhi's love for Shakespeare is conspicuous by its absence.

On returning home Mr. Jinnah met with the same fate which had previously faced Mr. Gandh i. "My elder brother," says Mr. Gandhi, "had built high hopes on me. The desire for wealth and name and fame was great in him. He had a big heart, generous to a fault. This combined with his simple nature, had attracted to him many friends, and through them he expected to get me briefs. He had also assumed that I should have a swinging practice, and had, in that expectation, allowed the household expenses to become topheavy. He had also left no stone unturned to prepare the field for my practice."

The fate of Mr. Jinnah, on his return from London, was a harder one. His father had not been doing well in business. He was involved in a heavy financial difficulty which caused his ruin. Thus the boy met with a disappointing welcom. Totally inexperienced and raw, it was a hard blow for Mr. Jinnah. He was forced by the circumstances to have his first taste of real hardship and misery. But he was fired with a zeal to save his father from feeling the sting. The favourite son of fortune was suddenly faced with dire proverty. It was a bitter struggle. The law courts of Karachi offered little scope. He yearned for a wider field of activity. Therefore, he decided, to set out to conquer the world. He was equipped with nothing but his youth, his courage, his ambition, and his devotion to his father. Lawyers in Karachi offered him posts of an assistant. but he thankfully declined to accept an attached career. He made up his mind to try his luck independently. Some of them promised to keep their offers permanently open. With a load of good wishes but little sincere financial backing the young adventurer arrived in Bombay. It was the year 1897.

The "Dwarf" and the "Giant" have had practically the same kind of life in Bombay on the threshold

of their careers. Let Mr. Gandhi speak out first. "Although I lived in Girgaum, I hardly ever took a carriage or a tramcar. I had made it a rule to walk to the High Court. It took me quite forty-five minutes and of course I invariably returned home on foot. I had inured myself to the heat of the sun. This walk to and from the High Court saved a fairamount of money.' And here is Mr. Matlubul Hasan Saiyid, the most authoritative biographer of Mr. Mohammad Ali Jinnah: "The first three years were of great hardship, and although he attended his office regularly from day to day he wandered without a single brief. The long and crowded footpaths of Bombay may, if they could only speak, bear testimony to a young pedestrian pacing them every morning from his new abode in Golpitha—a humble locality in the city—to his office in the Fort, which still forms the centre of all business, and every evening back again to his apartments after a weary toilsome day spent in anxious expectation." Girgaum and Golpitha are almost the same locality and perhaps the dirtiest in Bombay. Ah ! what a fall from Lincoln's Inn to Golpitha ! Is this the fate of all our young men who return from abroad dangling a foreign degree ? They will deserve the punishment for having squandered their parents' hard-gotten gold. I don't think the matters have improved since the Dwarf and the Giant dug for their bread in the dirt and dust of Bombay with the sweat of their brows.

Young Jinnah, however, was not the boy to lose heart and give up to despair. Throug the kind offices of a friend he was granted permission to read in the chambers of MacPherson, the Acting Advocate-General of Bombay. He was the first Indian to be granted this rare concession. It created a stir in fashionable circles. In 1900 the promising Advocate applied for the temporary post of the Third Presidency Magistrate. With effort and diligence he secured the job. He held

this office for six months and the small salary so earned was enough to relieve him of the encumberances of the last three years of his bitter struggle. Not only that. He was also able to save a little for the future. During this tenure he worked with ability and skill. His proceedings were clear. His judgments were sound.

on the expiry of the term his services were highly appreciated by the judicial authorities. Sir Charles Ollivant, the Judicial Member of the Bombay Government, requested him to make his services available for permanent service in the near future on an increased grade of pay rising up to fifteen hundred rupees a month. Young Jinnah declined the offier. He was determined to keep up his independence of character. He resolved to pursue the goal he had set before him. "My ultimate ambition." he said to Sir Charles, "is to earn fifteen hundred rupees a day." The Law Member thought him sentimental. But the boy was practical. And he meant exactly what he said.

"After two year," says Jinnah, Sir Charles returned to India having spent time in England in quiet retirement. He was invited to the Orient Club in Bombay of which I was a member and I attended on the occasion. On seeing me there, he came to me and enquired as to how I was doing in law; and when I told him I was earning more than ruppees 2000 a month, he congratulated me on my determination and courage, saying I had done well to refuse his offer."

Thus Mr. Jinnah did marvellously well in Bombay, while Mr. Gandhi foundered, fled to Rajkot, and then set sail for South Africa where he became a "coolie lawyer." Jinnah won his early struggle, while Gandhi lost it. ,'Character, courage, industry, and perseverance," says Mr. Jinnah, "are the four pillars on which the whole edifice of human life can be built, and failure

is a word unknown to me." That rings like Napoleon. Mr. Gandhi has no such practical philosophy to offer us.

The "Giant" won his own battle and then like a knight-at-arms he set out to win battles for others. The "Dwarf," on the other hand, decided to help others just because he had failed to help himself. Mr. Gandhi is a defeated man and the entire gospel of non-violence is sublimation of defeatism.

The Hindu Jinnah and the Muslim Gokhale

> "It is my ambition to become the Muslim Gokhale."
>
> —*M. A. Jinnah.*

IF Mr. Mohammad Ali Jinnah aspired to become a Muslim Gokhale, Mr. Gopal Krishna Gokhale was indeed a Hindu Jinnah. There existed a bond of closest cooperation between the two, and if we misunderstand Mr. Jinnah today it is because we misunderstood Mr. Gokhale yesterday. Mr. Gokhale was perhaps the most brilliant nationalist leader of India, so brilliant indeed that we are apt to lose sight of his heavenly ideals in the very blinding dazzle of his political brilliance.

Both the Giant and the Dwarf came under the magnetic influence of Mr. Gopal Krishna Gokhale. He indeed forms an effective political bridge between Mr. M. K. Gandhi and Mr. M. A Jinnah. Had Gokhale lived longer he would have brought Gandhi and Jinnah on one platform of United India. Even if Mr. Gandhi had acted up to the principles of Mr. Gokhale, there would have been today no communal monster in India, biting deep into the life and liver of our country. But had Mr. Jinnah succumbed to the authoritarianism of Mr. Gandhi he would have been untrue to the sublime ideals of Gakhale which he set before himself at the start of his political career.

As soon as Mr. Jinnah had shaken off the crippling

load of poverty, he plunged headlong into the whirlpool of nationalism. Ceasing to be a passive spectator, immediately he assumed the active role of an enthusiastic worker. In law his diligence and patience were beginning to bear the golden fruit. There his career had become one continuous cavalcade of brilliant triumphs. The able lawyer soon became an astute politician. He was gifted with a unique style of eloquence in public speaking. His easy command of language stood him in good stead. He had a magnetic personality, an impressive delivery and a fluent voice. This triple asset of anorator marked him out as the coming man of India. His rhetoric and the influence of his tone made him a good debator. His gestures were appreciated by the audience. His arguments had the cogent force of a briliant advocate. He refused to overwhelm his listeners with the glowing fervour of a fiery orator.

The year 1906 found Mr. Jinnah a brilliant lawyer as well as a promising politician. He cherished his early recollections of political drama in Britain. The election scenes of Dadabhoy Naoroji were still vivid in his mind. He had closely followed the ups and downs of great political leaders. Young Jinnah made up his mind to play a distinctive role in the tide of the times. The political horizon of India was overcast with conflicting ideologies. Dadabhoy Naoroji, Ranade, Sir Pherozeshaw Mehta, Gopal Krishna Gokhale, Tilak, Lala Lajpat Rai and Sir Syed Ahmad were some of the principal figures of the day. This was a season of social reform in India. The political status of our country was being formulated by Great Britain. The citizens of India were being more closely associated with the governing class in England.

Mr. Mohammad Ali Jinnah found himself on the threshold of a promising political career in Bombay. He was deeply influenced by two oustanding personali-

ties. Dadabhoy Naoroji was one, Gopal Krishna Gokhale was the other. The former was a veteran of mature years and one of the patriarchs of the Indian national movement. Dadabhoy Naoroji had influenced Mr. Jinnah at a tender and impressionable age. Consequently, young Jinnah was devoted to his political guide. And when Dadabhoy Naoroji presided over the historic session of the Indian National Congress of Calcutta, no wonder young Jinnah acted as his private secretary. It was at his session at which for the first time the glorious ideal of "self Government for India" was enunciated and demanded as a birthright. Rumblings for freedom have always been there. "England," Sir Pherozeshaw Mehta had said long age, "must raise India to her own level or India will drag her down to hers." But England was turning a deaf ear to the national demand. It was in 1906 that the political consciousness became mature in India.

The year 1906 is notable for another even in Indian history. It brought Gandhi and Jinnah to the same platform. Young Jinnah came with Dadabhoy Naoroji Mr. Gandhi came with Mr.GopalKrishna Gokhale. One had come from Bombay, the other from South Africa. While the one had bloomed into a brilliant speaker, the other was still tongue-tied. Mr. Gandhi had brought forward a resolution of sympathy for Indians in South Africa, but he did not know how to get it through the Subjects Committee. There were lengthy speeches to every resolution, all in English to boot, and every resolution had some well-known leader to back it. "Mine," says Mr. Gandhi, was but a feeble pipe amongst those veteran drums, and as the night was closing in, my heart beat fast." The resolutions coming at the fag-end were rushed through at lightning speed. And Mr. Gandhi's resolution did come at the fag-end. Everyone was hurrying to go. It was 11 o'clock. Mr. Gandhi had not the courage to speak. He had already met

Gokhale. Gokhale had looked at his resolution. So Gandhi drew near to the chair of Gokhale and whispered to him, "Please do something for me."

"Your resolution is not out of my mind," said Gokhale. "You see the way they are rushing through the resolutions. But I will not allow yours to be passed over."

"So we have done ?" said Sir Pherozeshaw Mehta.

"No, no," cried out Mr. Gokhale, "there is still the resolution on South Africa. Mr. Gandhi has been waiting long."

"Have you seen the resolution?" asked Sir Pherozeshaw.

"Of course."

"Do you like it ?"

"It is quite good."

"Well, then let us have it, Gandhi."

Gandhi read his resolution trembling. Gokhale supported it. "Unanimously passed," cried out every one. Mr Gandhi was offered five minutes to speak on the resolution the next day in the open session of the Congress. The procedure was far from pleasing to Mr. Gandhi. "No one had taken the trouble to understand the resolution," says Mr. Gandhi. "Everyone was in a hurry to go, and, because Gokhale had seen the resolution, it was not thought necessary for the rest to see it or understand it !"

The morning found Mr. Gandhi worrying about his

speech. What was he to say in five minutes? He had prepared himself fairly well, but the words would not come. He had decided not to read his speech. He wanted to speak *extempore*. But the facility of speaking that he had acquired in South Africa seemed to have left him for the moment. As soon as it was time for the resolution, Mr. Gandhi's name was called out. He stood up. His head was reeling.

The man who helped Mr. Gandhi would as well have helped Mr. Jinnah. A deep sense of humanity was embedded in the very marrow of Mr. Gopal Krishna Gokhale. For him the very idea of communalism was foreign to his nature. He know neither Hindus nor Musilms. He knew only India and Indians. He was a true apostle of unity. Had he lived longer, the cobra of communalism would not have raised its head. Had Mr. Gandhi followed Gokhale in spirit and not merely in letter, he would have won the full confidence of Mr. Jinnah. If Mr. Jinnah has been driven to defend the Muslims, it is because he found that Mr. Gandhi was only working for the Hindus. But Mr. Gokhale was a sincere nationalist to the tips of his fingers. No wonder Mr. Jinnah was fascinated by the extreme nationalism of a vivid personality. Gopal Krishna Gckhale was a fountainhead of inspiration to Mr. Jinnah. No wonder he occupies a place of great respect in the heart of Mr. Jinnah.

Mr. Gandhi met Gokhale during a brief visit from South Africa. He found him on the grounds of Fergusson College at Poona. "He gave me an affectionate welcome," says Gandhi, "and his manners immediatelly won my heart. With him too this was my first meeting, and yet it seemed as though we were renewing an old friendship. Sir Pherozeshaw had seemed to me like the Himalayas, the Lokmanya like the Ocean. But Gakhale was as the Ganges. One could have a refre-

shing bath in the holy river. The Himalayas was unscaleable, and one could not easily launch forth on the sea, but the Ganges invited one to its bosom. It was a joy to be on it with a boat and an oar." The great man who was a joy for Gandhi was also a joy for Mr. Jinnah. Mr. Gokhale gave an equally affectionate welcome to Mr. Jinnah and completely won his heart with his charming manners. Mr. Jinnah could sometimes scale the Himalayas of Sir Pherozeshaw Mehta's mind, but he could not launch torth on the ocean of Lokmanya. The latter with his excessive stress on Vedic outlook may be looked upon as the father of communalism among the Hindus and the fountainhead of Gandhism among the Congressites, because Lokmanya's love for the *Gita* is only matched by Gandhi's affection for the Celestial Song. Gandhi and Lokmanya have revived ancient Hinduism and cloaked it as nationalism. But Mr. Gopal Krishna Gokhale was not a chip of this block. He was a pure nationalist. No wonder Mr. Jinnah aspired to be a Muslim Gokhale. And to this ideal he has been true throughout. So much so that those who understand Mr. Jinnah properly might call Gokhale the Hindu Jinnah. It was in the holy waters of Gokhale's influence that Mr. Jinnah bathed his statesmanship. If Mr. Jinnah is misunderstood, surely it isn't his fault.

It is magnificent to note that Gokhale exercised a magnetic influence on two conflicting natures as Gandhi and Jinnah. "In the sphere of politics," says Gandhi, "the place that Gokhale occupies in my heart during his lifetime and occupies ever now was and is absolutely unique." The same idea expresses the feelings of Mr. Jinnah, otherwise he would not have desired to be a Gokhale.

When Gokhale went to South Africa, he had with him a scarf which was a gift from Mahadeo Govind

Ranade. He treasured the keepsake with the utmost care and used it only on special occasions. One such occasion was the banquet given in his honour by the Johannesburgh Indians. The scarf was creased and needed ironing. It was not possible to send it to the laundry and get it back in time. So Mr. Gandhi offiered his services.

"I can trust to your capacity as a lawyer," said Gokhale, "but not as a washerman."

Surely Gakhale was mistaken. Ask Mr. Jinnah! Ask anybody! Ask Mr. Gandhi himself! We can trust Mr Gandhi's capacity as a washerman, but we cannot trust his capacity as a lawyer. And Gokhale did realize that he was mistaken, because Mr. Gandhi ironed his scarf remarkably well, even though he had failed many times to iron out a case in court.

Mr. Gandhi stayed a month with Gakhale after the Congress Conference at Calcutta. "From the very first day of my stay with him," says Gandhi, "Gokhale made me feel completely at home. He treated me as though I were his younger brother; he acquainted himself with all my requirements and arranged to see that I got all I needed." Anybody would love such a humane personality. There is little wonder if Mr. Jinnah and Mr. Gandhi both loved him. Gokhale kept nothing private from the guest. He introduced him to all the important people that called on him.

"To see Gokhale at work," says Mr. Gandhi, "was as much a joy as an education. He never wasted a a minute. His private relations and friendships were all for public good. All his talks had reference only to the good of the country and were absolutely free from any trace of untruth or insincerity. India's poverty and subjection were matters of constant and intense

concern to him." These are the qualities which Mr. Jinnah imbibed from his political guru and which he has been trying to cultivate and inculcate ever since. Gakhale was very anxious that Mr. Gandhi should settle down in Bombay and practise at the Bar. It would have brought Mr. Gandhi and Mr. Jinnah very close together, because both were very fast friends of Gokhale. But Mr. Gandhi felt shy of a law court. "I liked Gokhale's advice," says Gandhi. "but I was not overconfident of success as a barrister. The unpleasant memories of past failure were yet with me, and I still hated as poison the use of flattery for getting briefs." It would have been more practical if Gokhale had suggested to Mr. Gandhi the opening of a laundry in Bombay. Here Mr. Gandhi would have been confident of his success. Also there were pleasant memories of a past success. And there was no poison of flattery necessary so get dirty clothes for a wash-up! Nevertheless, Mr. Gandhi did scramble for a while at the lower rung of the legal profession ; but Mr. Jinnah had already reached the top.

Mr. Gandhi hired a fine bungalow at Santa Cruz and took a first class season ticket from Santa Cruz to Churchgate. Frequently he "felt a certain pride in being the only first class passenger" in his compartment. Mr. Gandhi prospered in his profession better, than he had expected. His South African clients often entrusted him with some work. It was enough to enable him to pay his way. In the High Court, however he could not secure any work. So he soon fled back to Africa. Gokhale had done his best to keep him in Bombay. "Thus whilst on the one hand I began to feel somewhat at ease about my profession," says Mr. Gandhi, "on the other hand, Gokhale, whose eyes were always on me, had been busy making his plans on my behalf. He peeped in at my chambers, twice or thrice every week, often in company with friends whom

he wanted me to know, and he kept me acquainted with his mode of work." Thus Mr. Gandhi was on a fair way to success and he should have stuck to Bombay. We know that Mr. Jinnah took three years to get his things going as a lawyer ; and Mr. Gandhi should have shown that quantity of perseverance. No doubt, Mr. Gandhi went Africa to in response to an urgent call, but his stay under the healthy influence of Gokhale was more useful for the country. Had Mr. Gandhi stuck to Bombay, he would have met Mr. Jinnah in a very congenial atmosphere under the influence of Gakhale. They would have understood each other better, so as not to misunderstand each other later. By flitting from coast to coast, Mr. Gandhi could not view the Indian situation in a proper perspective. And so he failed to grasp the Muslim attitued. And hence he failed to understand Jinnah.

Gokhale was absolutely free from the prejudice of caste, colour, creed or country. Gokhale knew every co-worker of Gandhi in South Africa, and his highest admiration went to a Christian girl in the camp of Mr. Gandhi. Her name was Miss Schlesin. And she was a mere stenographer. "Among your co-workers," he said Gandhi, "she takes the first place in my estimation. I have rarely met with the sacrifice, the purity and to the fearlessness I have seen in Miss Schlesin." It is clear that Gokhale was a man of impartial views at all places and at all times. And Mr. Jinnah was affected without Gokhale's sense of impartiality. Today whatever we may say for or against Mr. Jinnah we cannot accuse him of inconsistency which is a besetting sin of Mr. Gandhi.

When Mr. Gandhi returned from Africa, he was given a warm welcome in which Mr. Jinnah took an active part. "The Gujaratis would not let me go without a reception," says Mr. Gandhi, which was organized

by the late Uttamlal Trivedi. I had acquainted myself with the programme beforehand. Mr. Jinnah was present, being a Gujarati, I forget whether as president or as the principal speaker. He made a short and sweet little speech in English. As far as I remember most of the other speeches were also in English. When my turn came, I expressed my thanks in Gujarati, explaining my partiality for Gujarti and Hindustani, and entering my humble protest against the use of English in a Gujarati gathering. This I did, not without some hesitation, for I was afraid lest it should be considered discourteous for an inexperienced man, returned home after a long exile, to enter his protest against an established practice. But no one seemed to misunderstand my insistence on replying in Gujarati. In fact I was glad to note that everyone seemed reconciled to my protest." I wounder if Mr. Gandhi judged rightly the feelings of his audience. I doubt if he is capable of judging another man's feelings, living as he does in the Himalayan grottoes of authoritarian self-confidence. Mr. Jinnah, "whether as president or as the principal speaker," could not be pleased with the merciless attack of Mr. Gandhi after he had delivered a "sweet little speech in English," to welcome the guest. Mr. Gandhi was biting the very hand that fed him. It is no use saying that nobody was hurt. Mr. Jinnah was definitely hurt. He must have been singled out as the target. And what a shock must that function have given to Mr. Jinnah ! And yet he did not misunderstand. There was nothing to be misunderstood. And if anybody misunderstood the affront that he had offered, it was Mr. Gandhi himself. It almost reminds me of Beverley Nichols (of *Verdict on India* fame) who declared that he was honoured and heavily garlanded everywhere, but the garlands contained insects ! There cannot be a greater crime in the world than an affront to hospitality. And Mr. Gandhi was guilty of such an act, when he attacked Mr. Jinnah and others for having welcomed

him in English, as if Mr. Gandhi did not know English, as if he had not gone to England to mimic English, and as if a reception function is the most proper time for inaugurating a linguistic reform.

When Mr. Jinnah was growing up into a political stalwart, Mr. Gandhi was still a child in Indian politics notwithstanding his South African experiences. Consequently, when Gakhale passed away suddenly, Mr. Gandhi was left without a political guide. There was nobody to teach Mr. Gandhi the A.B.C. of statesmanship. But Gokhale was a wiser man. Even after death Gokhale kept Gandhi under his tutorship for sometime.

"Do you think," asked Andrews, "that a time will come for Satyagraha in India? And if so, have you any idea when it will come?"

"It is difficult to say," said Mr. Gandhi. For one year I am to do nothing. For Gokhale took from me a promise that I should travel in India for gaining experience, and express no opinion on public questions until I have finished the period of probation."

It is noteworthy that Gokhale did not approve of the ideas of Mr. Gandhi. "I may note in this cannection," says Gandhi, "that Gokhale used to laugh at some of my ideas in *Hind Swaraj* (India Home Rule). Gokhale used to say to Gandhi: "After you have stayed a year in India, your views will correct themselves. Had Gokhale lived, he would have prescribed another period of ten years' silence for Mr. Gandhi. But even that would have borne little fruit. The trouble is that the views of Mr. Gandhi are fundamentally wrong. Had Gokhale lived, he would have laughed at

the views of Mr. Gandhi even today. And if Mr. Jinnah laughs at the views of Mr. Gandhi, Mr. Gandhi has to thank himself alone for that.

Mr. Mohammad Ali Jinnah, on the other hand, is a fervent admirer of Gopal Krishan Gokhale. There is something of Islamic catholicity in Gokhale. Mr. Jinnah was fascinated by the catholicity of Gokhale and parliamentarinism of Dadabhoy Naoroji. "During the time when the General Election of 1885 was pending," revealed Sir Pherozeshaw Mehta once, "the Bombay Presidency Association resolved to inaugurate the policy of carrying the war, as it were, into the enemy's country." They decided to make a direct appeal to the British electors by means of leaflets and delegates. They resoled to request the British voters to discriminate between the white sheep and the black sheep. Of all those who took part in the proceedings of the day, there was nobody who threw himself into the movement inaugurated by the Association more earnestly or more vigorously than Mr. Dadabhoy Naoroji. He was as we know, the political inspirer of Mr. Jinnah. It was Dadabhoy Naoroji who moved the principal resolution of "carrying the war as it were, into the enemy's country." He struck the keynote of the situation by emphatically laying down that "it is in Parliament our chief battles have to be fought." This is an important principle of parliamentarianism which Mr. Jinnah admires but which has fallen into disfavour in the Congress programme ever since Mr. Gandhi took reins of that organization. That is one reason why Mr. Jinnah and Mr. Gandhi cannot see eye with each other. When Mr. Gandhi launched his Satyagraha, no wonder Mr. Jinnah left the Congress.

Dadabhoy Naoroji added "another article of faith to his political creed" says Sir Pherozeshaw Mehta, "in favour of which I had ventured to raise my solitary

vioce at the meeting. It was that not only our chief battles had to be fought in Parliament but that those battles could never be really and truly fought until Indian questions were brought within the sphere of party politics." That is an excellent suggestion which the stalwarts of nationalism would have followed up with tremendous profit, had not the coming of Mr. Gandhi upset the balance of parliamentarianism in the Congress ranks. Gopal Krishna Gokhale and Sir Pherozeshaw Mehta were the great parliamentarians whom Mr. Jinnah idolized. Sir Pherozeshaw had no fears that English statesmanship would ultimately respond to the call of Indian nationalism.' And it would indeed have responded if the Satyagraha Movement of Mr. Gandhi had not made it hostile to our cause. "I have unbounded faith in the living and fertilizing principles of English culture and English civilization," says Sir Pherozeshaw. He may be right for ought we know. The fact is that the parliamentarianism of elder statesmen was never given a fair trial before Mr. Gandhi came and ousted them from the field. And that no doubt is one bone of contention between Mr. Jinnah and Mr. Gandhi.

It is worth while to notice the gulf of difference between the lines of action followed up by Mr. Gandhi and Mr. Gokhale for redressing the pubilc wrongs which the peoples of India suffered at the hands of the British Government. Mr. Gandhi Iaunched the historic Salt March which was violent in spirit even thoug it kept up a dicipline of non-violence to all appearances. Gokhale, on the other hand, speaking on a resolution for the Reduction of Salt Duty, said: "We are appealing to the sense of Justice of the Government of India. We are appealing to their statesmanship, to their righteousness, and I will even go further and say, to their mercy." The statement of Gokhale has a profound ring of sincerity in it. I do not mean that Mr. Gandhi should go abegging. All that I mean is that Mr. Gandhi should

not hold out a threat of Satyagraha unless a country-wide appeal for mercy has fallen on the deaf ears of John Bull. Satyagraha is the last weapon in the armoury of spiritual power, while Mr. Gandhi has cheapened it to dust by handing and mishanding it so often that it has lost its signficance as a spirnitual weapon and has become a dirty political tool. The news has come round from America that a seventy-year-old man called F. M. Ferguson is using the sacred weapon of *Satyagraha* in the village of Neon Kentucky in order to coerce the village officials to grant him permission to open a sweetmeat shop ! The story should be an eye-opener to the author of *Stayagraha.*

If Gokhale was the political teacher of Mr. Jinnah, Ranade was the political teacher of Gokhale. He cast his welcome shadow on the mind of the young politicians. By his perpetual watchfullness he kept the political enthusiasm within bounds of sanity, Ranade directed the energies of youth into right channels. He shaped the mind of Gokhale and Gokhale shaped the mind of Mr. Jinnah. Hence the study of Ranade becomes as important as the study of Gokhale in the biography of Mr. Jinnah. The patriotism of Ranade was of a sure character. It was fervent. It was profound. "His one aspiration through life was," says Gokhale, "that India should be roused from the lethargy of centuries, so that she might become a great and living nation, responsive to truth and justice, and self-respect, responsive to all the claims of our higher nature, animated by lofty ideals, and undertaking great national task." That is a very great ideal, greater than what Mr. Gandhi has set before the country. Freedom is not enough. The people of India must be taught the great qualities of nobility without which freedom is a fiction. Stayagraha is spiritually the most violent weopon, and consequently it is as incompetent to teach the great qualities of character of humanity as the atomic bomb

Itself. Ranade put country before religion or society but without the slightest animosity towards the British. He called it a "providential arrangement" between England and India. His patriotism was of broad international type. "Even in his attachment to the cause of social and religious reform," says Gokhale, "patriotism was the strongest current ; for he believed that without this reform there was no hope for us as a nation. Ceaseless toil on the part of every worker he preached but better exemplified in his own remorseless devotion to work. Apathy, he always said, was our greatest course in these days.

Ranade was a man of invulnerable optimism. His hopefulness was never shaken. He was not frightened by the coldest reception given by the Government to the memorials submitted through his industry.

"What is the good of taking all this trouble," said Gokhale, "and submitting these memorials, if Government don't care to say anything more than that they have noted the contents of our letter ?

"You don't realize our place in the history of our country," replied Ranade. "These memorials are nominally addressed to Government, in reality they are addressed to the people, so that they may learn how to think in these matters. This work must be done for many years without expecting any other result, because politics of this kind is altogether new in this land. Besaides, if Government note the contents of what We say, even that is something."

Thus it is clear that Ranade was a foresighted man. This foresightedness was inherited by Gokhale. And now this foresightedness is possessed by Mr. Jinnah. If he insists on Pakistan, Mr. Jinnah has declared time and again, it is because it brings political consciousness

among the Muslims, who are on the whole less organized and poves the way for a united front of Hindus and Muslims, treated as two separate nations, struggling for one and the same goal or indpendence.

It was Tilak who may be regarded as the father of communalism among the Hindus. He was, in a way the forefather of Hindu Mahasabha. "Freedom is my birthright," he said "I shall have it". That is all right. Freedom is the birthright of every Indian and he should have it. But then he laid extra stress on Hinduism. He talked of freedom and Hinduism is one and the same tone, as Dr. Mukerji and Mr. Savarkar do today. This what Mr. Jinnah could not tolerate Tilak had a clear cut goal before him. He decided to organize the popular opinion. To achieve his purpose he committed the some blunder which Mr. Gandhi has committed today. Tilak did his trick through religion. And so has done Mr. Gandhi. A political idea garbed in religion easily strikes home in an ignorance-ridden country like India. But in the long run it always proves the most harmful. Like Mr. Gandhi, Tilak gave nationalism a religous tinge. It was Tilak who gave Mr. Jinnah food for thought. Tilak deliberately cut himself off from the sympathies of the Muslims and thus invited the Muslims to cut themselves off from the sympathies of the Hindus. He attacked the Muslims as freely as he attacked the British. "Tilak believed," says Mr. M. H. Saiyid, "that Hindus had suffered as such at the hands of the Muslims, as they had under the British rule. He had the courge to stand by his conviction and did not mince matters. Through his two journals, the *Maratha*, printed in English and *Kesari*, printed in Marathi, he was inviting his followed and Maharashtrian countrymen against both, the British and the Musalmans. In 1893 he organized the first public festival in honour of Ganpati, the elephant-headed god known to every village in India, and thus

founded a permanent institution in opposition to the Muslim Muharram festival." Tilak also founded the Anti-Cow Killing Society and demanded from the Government the lifting of the ban on playing of music before mosques.

Communalism earned for Tilak a roaring popularity among the Hindus. His hold on the minds of his co-religionists was strengthened day by day. By 1898 he became a favourite idol of the people. They came to adore Tilak as they worship Mr. Gandhi today. Tilak earned the title of *Lokmanya*, the beloved of the people, as Mr. Gandhi managed to secure the unique appellation of *Mahatma*, the Great Soul. These Lokmanyas and Mahatmas have wrecked the ship of Indian nationalism beyond repair.

It would have been little wonder, had Mr. Jinnah taken up cudgels for Islam immediately on his return from England. The wonder is that he kept cool head in an atmosphere of extreme provocation created by the fireworks of Tilak and his Hindu firebrands. Fresh from England, he had imbibed the traditions of British constitutionalism. Therefore, he lined himself up with Dadabhoy Naoroji, the constitutional model of Mr. Jinnah ; Ranade, the guru of Gopal Krishna Gokhale the political guide of Mr. Jinnah himself; and Sir Pherozeshaw Mehta, the "Lion of Bombay," being the most successful man in the legal profession at that time. Mr. Jinnah himself being a young lawyer, took Sir Pherozeshaw as the destination of his legal ambitions. Mr. Jinnah relished the company of these sober heroes, because he had no faith in firebrands to whatever religion they may have the dishonour to belong. He was interested in the bigger problems that faced the country and he did not want to fritter away his strength on minor events.

Of all the favorites of Mr. Jinnah, Gokhale came the nearest to his political ideals, when Mr. Jinnah had successfully established himself as a lawyer and had shuffled off the burden of poverty. It was the year 1905. Gokhale was the man of the moment. He led the most emphatic protest against the Partition of Bengal. This ill-fated measure was sponsored by Lord Curzon, the Viceroy of India. "Gentlemen," said Gokhale at a meeting of the Indian National Congress, "I have carefully gone through all the papers which have been published by the Government on the subject of Partition. Three things have struck me forcibly—determination to dismember Bengal at all costs, an anxiety to promote the interests of Assam at the expense of Bengal, and a desire to suit everything to the interests and convenience of the Civil Service." Gokhale criticised the Government for having called the Congress " a comparatively small number of people at a single center" responsible for "manufacturing" public opinion and disseminating it "thence for universal adoption, all other views being discouraged and suppressed." The Government wanted Partition of Bengal in order "to encourage the growth of centres of independent opinion, local aspiration, local ideals, and to preserve the growind intelligence of Bengal from being cramped and stunted by the process of forcing it prematurely into a mould of rigid and sterile uniformity." This was a barefaced attack on the growth of nationalism and it set the patriotism of Gokhale on fire. "After this," he said, "let no apologist of the late Viceroy pretend that the object of the Partition was administrative convenience and not political repression." Mr. Jinnah admired the intellectual brilliance of Gokhale and the fire of patriotism that glowed in his heart. Today in the fervour of Mr. Jinnah *for* Pakistan we may read something of Gokhale's enthusiasm *against* Partition. Their goal is the same, although they are following different roads. Mr. Jinnah wants to save

the Muslims of India from disruption, as Mr. Gokhale saved the peoples of Bengal from division. In the Partition of Bengal, the division of the country was an evil. In the case of Pakistan it is the only remedy.

The Partition of Bengal bewildered the British statesmanship yesterday, as Pakistan has bewildered it today. The Congress came to acquire a great political strength through the Partition, as the Muslim League has come up to the level of a great political organization through the slogan of Pakistan. "Gentlemen," said Gokhale, "as I have already observed the manner in which the partition of Bengal has been carried out furnishes a striking illustration of the worst features of the present system of bureaucratic rule. Happily these features are not always so conspicuously in evidence." Gokhale did not deny that a large proportion of the members of the bureaucracy bring to their work a high level of ability, a keen sense of duty and a conscientious desire to do what good they can for the people. Their opportunities of public service, however, are restricted by the predominance of other interests. Gokhale, like Mr. Gandhi criticized the system of Government rather than individual Englishman. "It is the system that is really at fault," said Gokhale, "a system which relegates the interests of the people to a very subordinate place and which, by putting too much power into the hands of these men, impairs their sense of responsibility and develops in them a spirit intolerance of criticium." I have no doubt that Mr. Jinnah is of the same view. His struggle for Pakistan proceeds from keen desire to shake off British bureaucracy.

Mr. Jinnah, however, noticed that the national movement was slipping out of the hands of sober-minded leaders. It was falling into the hands of fanatics. Nationalism was developing into a sentimental ferment. Bengal agitation was a means to the end. The end was

unification of the popular will. "When the movement was first inaugurated." said Gokhale, "we were under the influence of that remarkable outburst of enthusiasm for British rule which had been evoked in the country by the great Viceroyalty of the Marquis of Ripon." He was known as "the best beloved of India's viceroys," because he did not offer mere lip-service to the principle that righteousness exalts a nation. He dared to act on the principle. He braved persecution at the hands of his own countrymen. Lord Ripon greatly quickened the process of awakening national consciousness. That was his noblest service to this country The national movement established itself in the hearts of the people. The Congress was the child of that realization. It was started to focus and organize the patriotic forces that were working independently. He invested their work with a national character. And thus he increased their general effectiveness. "Hope at that time was warm," said Gokhale, "and faith shone bright largely as a result of Lord Ripon's Viceroyalty." It was believed that the Congress would voice the popular sentiments and thereby secure a "continuous improvement of the administration of a steady advance in the direction of the political emancipation of the people." Twenty years had elapse by 1905. During that time much had happened that chilled the hope of the nationalists. Bureaucracy had dimmed the faith of the people in the British divinity and righteousness. The minds of the people had been familiarised with the idea of a united India, but the independent India always receded in the distance like "an ever-sinking star." Nevertheless, a national public opinion was created. Different parts of India were knit together in class bonds of sympathy. "Caste and creed separations, "said Gokhale, 'hamper less and less the pursuit of common aims ; dignity of as consciousness of national existence has spread over the whole land." At that time Mr. Jinnah believed that

Gokhale was quite right, and he lent him his whole-hearted enthusiasm of a young admirer.

"Our record of political concessions won is, no doubt, very meagre, "said Gokhale," but those that have been secured are of considerable value." Some retro-gressions had been prevented. "If lately we have been unable to stem the tide of reaction," he said,"the resistance we have offered, though it has failed of its avowed purpose, has substantially strengthened our public life." The deliberations of nationalists extended over a very wide range of problems. Public opinion was better informed. The press was steadily growing in usefulness. "Above all," said Gokhale, "there is general perception now of the goal towards which we have to strive and a wide recognition of the arduous character of the struggle and the immense sacrifices it requires." Mr. Jinnah clearly understood the doctrines of Gokhale, because these followed from a profound understanding of unmistakable nationalism. Little wonder if Gokhale became the political model of Mr. Jinnah, and Mr. Jinnah drunk deep at the fountain-head of his political inspirations.

Gopal Krishna Gokhale, who shaped the future of India in 1905, also moulded the character of Mr. Jinnah. Gokhale formulated the broad policy of the Congress and laid the foundation of the demand for self-government. The method of achieving independence was also clear as a crystal in the mind of the Great Gokhale. Moderation and sweet reasonableness were the golden threads of his nature. He permitted only a legitimate rousing of popular feelings. Gokhale had learnt a valuable lesson from Ranade that the utmost care must be taken to pilot safely the torrent of aroused masses. And Gokhale never lost sight of this precious lodestar. And now we find this valuable guiding principle in the custody of Mr. Jinnah. While Mr. Gandhi loves to act as a ring-leader of the excited masses, Mr. Jinnah

keeps himself meticulously away from popular fireworks. He commands dignity by judicious aloofness rather than promiscuous intimacy.

Political advance, said Gokhale, should only be gradual. At each stage of the progress ; "he said, "it may be necessary for us to pass through a brief course of apprenticeship before we are able to go to the next one ; for it is a reasonable proposition that the sense of responsibility required for the proper exercise of the political instruments of the West, can be acquired by an Eastern people through practical training and experiment only." Nobody can deny the truth of this statement. "While. therefore," says Gokhale, "we are prepared to allow that an advance towards our goal may be only by reasonably cautious steps, what we emphatically insist on is that the resources of the country should be primarily devoted to the work of qualifying the people by means of education and in other ways, for such advance."

This is a correct view of Gokhale and it must have appealed to Mr. Jinnah when he backed up Gokhale. Even now the political programme of Mr. Jinnah is in fervent support of this policy. Let us not forget that Dr Rabindranath Tagore was of the same opinion when he laid down that "we must hide ourselves until we justify ourselves." Mr. Gandhi alone has been a disrupting factor in Indian politics. He has come forward with new-fangled ideas from Africa and upset the process of political evolution in the country. Mr. Gandhi and Dr. Tagore differed very often. Is there any wonder if Mr. Jinnah and Mr. Gandhi fail to agree? Mr. Jinnah is the product of Indian evolution, while Mr. Gandhi has imported ideas conceived in Africa in the oven of "colour-bar" bitterness. Satyagraha is essential in Africa where a handful of Indians have to face an overwhelming white population, but it is hardly

advisable in India where the "black" population overwhelms the white element. All that is required is Hindu Muslim unity as the corner-stone of Indian independence. And that is what the elder Indian statesmen were working for slowly and steadily in the stream of political evolution. And Mr. Jinnah offered his heart and soul for a united front. But Mr. Gandhi came upon the scene and interrupted the normal flow of politics, ousting social reform and replacing it by the spirit of unrefined nationalism. He thus put a dangerous weapon in the hands of the masses. The unhappy incident of Chauri-Chaura after all proved a happy one, because it convinced Mr. Gandhi that Satyagraha is after all an atomic bomb which will not respect the wishes of its inventor.

Before Mr. Gandhi had spoiled the political game, things were different on the political horizon of India. Gokhale believed that the political salvation of the Indian people lay through education, practical training and experiment. And he never failed to advocate these principles. And these principles were strongly backed by the youthful enthusiasm of Mr. Jinnah. The Hindu-Muslim unity could be easily achieved through the practice of these principles. Political exhibitionism has only disrupted the evolution of Hindu-Muslim brotherhood and sistership. Gokhale made a practical contribution in pursuance of his policy. He lent a mighty support to the various educational and social movements. He sacrificed his personal interests. It was enough to awaken and inspire any man. No wonder, Mr. Jinnah fell under the charms of this magnetic personality. Gokhale's innumerable qualities merged themselves in a selfless service for the service of India. And this is what fascinated Mr. Jinnah.

Mr. Jinnah modelled his career after the glorious example of Gokhale. And he has been true to his poli-

tical model. Mr. Jinnah set about to work feverishly for the unification of Hindus and Muslims under the guidance of Gokhale who knew neither Hindus nor Muslims and treated both alike. Gokhale was perhaps the best friend of the youth, irrespective of caste, colour and creed, and they were drawn towards him as by a magnet because they always depended on Uncle Gokhale for elderly advice and brotherly help. And the youth rarely failed to get from Gokhale what they sought for.

And the benefit was reciprocal. Gokhale imbibed the spirit of youth from the youth around him. There was a youthful enthusiasm in the actions of Gokhale which is only found in Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru today. This youthful spirit is remarkably lacking in Mr. Gandhi. It is noteworthy that the solution of communal problems is associated with youthful approach. Gokhale was, and Pandit Nehru is, a successful promoter of Hindu-Muslim Unity, while Mr. Gandhi is markedly a failure. Hindu-Muslim Unity cannot be achieved by directives from Wardha. It can only be accomplished by personal contact. And that requires youthful energy.

The youthful energy was found in Gokhale. And he inocculated the half-dead leaders with this youthful energy. The youth of day gathered round him. Muslim students vied with Hindu students for a seat on his knees. He gave them all the message of Hindu-Muslim Unity. And his message always went home, because he himself practised what he preached to others.

Both Gandhi and Jinnah hovered round Gokhale. While Mr. Gandhi listened to the doctrines of Gokhale, Mr. Jinnah set about to practise them. While Mr. Jinnah laboured hard in Bombay for a Hindu-Muslim Unity, Mr. Gandhi ran away from the fatherly hands

of Gokhale for self-glorification in Africa. One wishes that Mr. Gandhi had stayed in the dovecot of a lawyer where Gokhale had placed him in Bombay. Had Mr. Gandhi stayed in Bombay after meeting Gokhale, the history of India would have changed. It is regrettable that self-willedness of Mr. Gandhi deprived him from the healthy influence of Gokhale who formulated the early political doctrines of Mr. Jinnah. It is doubtful whether Africa gained anything from the enemy-irritating exasperating battles of Satyagraha launched by Mr. Gandhi, but it is definitely certain that India is a very bad loser. So far as the condition of Indians in Africa is concerned, Mr. Gandhi left them ten times worse than he had found them.

Mr. Jinnah, on the other hand, carried on a very quiet work in Bombay. He worked cooly, calmly, and quietly for Hindu-Muslim Unity. No wonder, he won a great tribute from Gokhale. "He has true stuff in him" said Gokhale, "and the freedom from all sectarian prejudice which will make him the best ambassador of Hindu-Muslim Unity." None can deny that Mr. Jinnah has in him even now what Gokhale called the "true stuff." Even as the League Leader he has maintained a magnificent "freedom from all sectarian prejudice." Mr. Jinnah still is, as he has always been, "the best ambassador of Hindu-Muslim Unity," and the Pakistan has been conceived, although the Hindus may not relish it, on the basis of the established principle of self-determination, and is intended to promote Hindu-Muslim Unity.

Gokhale was a wonderful judge of men and things. He would have been the last person to pay that handsome tribute to Mr. Jinnah as "the best ambassador of Hindu-Muslim Unity" if Mr. Jinnah did not deserve it. An intellectual giant of Gokhale's calibre and candour will not go out of his way to flatter a youngster who

has not yet unfolded his first feathers. If Gokhale prophesied about Jinnah, it is because he did see Mr. Jinnah with a prophetic vision. It is not yet too late for Mr. Jinnah to become "the best ambassador of Hindu-Muslim Unity." A sincere prophecy can seldom go wrong. A sincere prophecy by a sincere man must be watched with a hopeful vision. If Gokhale has said something, it will have to prove its truth. There never was a more sincere statesman than Gokhale, and his word cannot go astray.

Gokhale's depth of sincerity may be fathomed by the profundity of affection with which Mr. Jinnah regarded Gokhale. Once in "a priceless moment of self-revelation." said Mrs. Sarojini Naidu, Mr. Jinnah confessed that his ambition was to become the Muslim Gokhale. This is the greatest tribute that Gokhale could expect from a young admirer. And Jinnah's tribute is the sincerest expression of the sincerest soul. There is not the slightest tinge of flattery in it. What need had Mr. Jinnah to flatter Gokhale. And that also in a priceless moment of self-revelation !

Mr. Gandhi is a very good man, but he does not come up to the level of Gokhale. Mr. Gandhi lives aart, he moves aloof like a lonely star, and does not serve as a model for the youth. He lives too much in the air and "shuns to have his graces spied" like the copy lady of *Go Lovely Rose* quality. No young man can say " Great Gandhi ! " with the same proximity of affection and warmth of feelings as the students said forty years ago "Great Gokhale" Mr. Gandhi does not strike as one of the common lot. He is too much above us. He is a god. And gods are out of place in this earthy-mirthy world. Today no youth aspires to be a Muslim Gandhi as Mr. Jinnah aspired to be a Muslim Gokhale.

The coming of Mr. Gandhi has disturbed the cementing of Hindu-Muslim Unity. We were advancing towards the goal of unity-front when Mr. Gandhi threw the atomic bomb of Satyagraha from the Gold Coast of Africa and caused a havoc in the political structure of India. Consequently, his bomb has favoured nobody except the capitalists. It has tightened the grip ef those who hold the strings of purses wellfilled with gold. The poor classes have got nothing from the *khadi* and *charkha* philosophy of Mr. Gandhi. And what is more, nothing but disappointment is in store for them.

Gokhale had many qualities of Jinnah in him and Jinnah did not aspire to be a Gokhale for fun's sake. Jinnah was working studiously for Hindu-Muslim unity, when Gandhi made the entire political system topsy-turvy to suit his ideas which he had mannufactured in the heat of Africa. Mr. Jinnah would have been today the Muslim Gokhale and Gokhale might well have earned the title of Hindu Jinnah, had Mr. Gandhi not put a spoke in the wheel of the country's political progress. Mr. Jinnah put his shoulder to the wheel of political independence in right earnest ; but Mr. Gandhi, by launching *Satyagraha* without securing Hindu-Muslim unity, tried to put the political wagon before the political horse, and consequently he upset the apple-cart of political emancipation.

The Congress Cat and The League Lion

"I have undertaken a heavy Task against the so-called National Congress."

—*Sir Syed Ahmad.*

EIGHTEEN hundred and fifty-seven was the most fateful year in the history of India. It was a year of the political earthquake. It is known as the Indian Mutiny, the Indian Revolt, the Indian Rebellion, and the Indian Revolution. The British imperialists degrade the happenings by dabbing them as a "mutiny", but the Indian nationalists glorify the events with the title of "revolution".

Call it by whatever name we desire, it is a flower that does not smell sweet. "What happened in Delhi after the fall of the City in 1857," says Mahadev Desai, "has left a dark stain on British Military history. The rebels had no dubt indulged in violence, but those who vanquished them beat their ghastliest record." It is noteworthy that the father of Maulana Abul Kalam Azad as well as The uncles of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru were entrapped in the city. They had their share of atrocities. "All the city people found within the walls when our troops entered," records Montgomery Martin, "were bayonetted on the spot; and the number was considerable, as you may suppose when I tell you that in some houses forty and fifty persons were hiding. These were not mutineers, but residents of the city,

who trusted to our well-known mild rule for pardon. I am glad to say they were disappointed." It is by sheer good luck that the nearest relatives of Maulana Azad and Pandit Nehru escaped the worst penalties of death, although they lost all their belongings. "Harmless citizens were shot clasping their hands for mercy. Trembling old men were cut down," writes Holmes. "The people of Delhi had expiated many times over the crimes of the mutineers. Tens of thousand of men and women and children were wandering, for no crime, homeless over the country. What they had left behind was lost to them for ever ; for the soldiers, going from house to house and from street to street ferretted out every article of value, and smashed to pieces whatever they could not carry away." This was the fate meted out to Muslims as well as Hindus, Pandits and Maulanas. The elders of Maulana Azad and Pandit Nehru fled from the city driven away by the rod of unprecedented terror.

"Mr. F. Andrews has recorded," says the late Mahadev Desai, "in his biographical sketch of Zakaullah, how that pious man's family suffered without any fault whatsoever, and Sir Syed Ahmad Khan, who helped the British during those days more than any other single man, found that when he went to Delhi his uncle had been murdered and his mother had to take refuge in a servant's house. The Maulana's (Azad) father was one of the thousands who fled for their lives. He thought it wise to leave this troubled land and retire to Mecca."

* * *

Ont of the ashes of the Indian Revolution of 1857 were born the Congress Cat and the League Lion. They took a long time in coming. But the British Tiger saw that they did come, even though they took thirty and

fifty years in the process of birth insteady of the usual nine months. But they did come after all.

"The Indian Rebellion of 1857," says Mahadev Desai, "unorganized and confined to parts of North India as it was, may be said to have given the Britisher the key to the consolidation of the foundation of British rule in India. Though there had been war between the Hindus and the Muslims, the Rebellion had found them united for a common object, however vague it was, and one can trace the beginning of the Policy of Divide and Rule in the utterances of the British rulers of those days like Sir Bartle Frere."

Thus the Indian Revolution had made the Indian Museum of man and matters too hot for the British Tiger. And the British Tiger knew how to control the Indian Museum. It required a Congress Cat and a League Lion. And the British Tiger must have them both. The Congress Cat, of course, came first and the League Lion followed ofterwards. But each came in its proper time. And thus the British Tiger, the King of the jungle, naturally established the law of the jungle in the nature of the Indian Zoo.

The launching of the nationalist movement gave the British Tiger the signal for alarm. It was Lord Dufferin who started the double game. He uttered honeyed words to Hindus and words of warning to the Muslims. He invited Mr. Hume, the father of the Indian National Congress, to make the Congress a political organization. And the British Tiger invited the Congress Cat to garden parties. But at the same time the British Tiger started tearing Mother India into two irreconcilable camps. "The most patent characteristic of our Indian cosmos." he said, "is its division into two mighty communitics as distinct from each other as the poles asunder in their religious faith, their his-

torical antecedents, their social organization and their natural aptitudes ; on the one hand, the Hindus numbering 190 millions, with their polytheistic beliefs. their temples adorned with images and idols, their veneration for the sacred cow,their elaborate caste distinctions and their habits of submission to successive conquerors—on the other hand, the Mahomedans, a nation of 50 millons with their monotheism, their iconoclastic fanaticism, their animal sacrifices, their social equality and their rememberance of the days when enthroned at Delhi they reigned supreme from the Himalayas to Cape Comorin.

Lord Dufferin placed his fingers on the most sensitiue points in the two communities. And then he found a great deal of infiammable material Besides he declared and declared rightly, that the Congress alone could not represent the whole of India. Having regard to the relations in numbers, condition, in status, and in qualifications for Government," said Lord Dufferin, "of what may be called the Europeanized or educated section of the Indian people as compared with the masses that consitute the bulk of the nation, I am convinced that we should be falling into a great error, if miscalculating the force and value of the Congress movement and the influence of its supporters and advocates, whether in the Press or elsewhere, we were to relax in the slightest degree our grasp of the supreme administration of the country."

Another party was needed, by the traditions of democracy, to face the Congress and to make the country politically conscious through healthy competition. But these were not the ideals of Lord Dufferin. At any rate, he set about to contact the leaders of the Muslim community. He put himself into communication with all the Muslim personages of influence in different parts of India. Then he felt excedingly and delightfully relieved "The Mahomedans," he reported," have also certainly

been brought much more into sympathy with the Government than they were before."

Sir Auckland Colin, Lieutenant-Governor of the N.-W. Province, argued with Mr. Hume. He believed that the Congress provoked a counter-agitation among the Muslims. The Congress Cat had given birth to the League Lion.

Sir Syed Ahmad was the *de facto* leader of the Muslims in 1885 as Mohammad Ali Jinnah is the *de jure* leader of the Muslims in 1945. Sir Syed was a dynamic personality. He had the courage of his conviction. He had the conviction of an iron determination. He had the determination of firm execution. Sir Syed was a giant among men. He worked out a reform in the Muslim masses in the face of great odds. He worked in the teeth of fanatical orthodox opposition. Nevertheless he carried out his mission of bringing about an intellectual revolution in the hearths and homes of his co-religionists. Western culture, western education, and western science fascinated him. And he inocculated the Muslim community with these. virtues. And his inocculation bore ample reward for the people and the country.

Like Dadabhoy Naoroji, Sir Syed was a sincere admirer of the British civilization. The glamour of Western amenities fascinated him. The freedom of Western women dazzled him. "Without flattering the English.', he wrote from London in a letter dated October 15, 1869, " I can truly say that the natives of India, high and low, merchants and pretty shopkeepers, educated and illiterate, when contrasted with the English in education, manners and uprightness, are as like them as a dirty animal is to an able and handsome man. The English have reason for believing us in India to be imbecile brutes."

Sir Syed was pained to find the fatal shroud of complacent self-esteem wrapt round the Muslim community. The Muslims of India only thrived on the tales of their ancestors. They imagined that there was none like themselves. The Muslims of Egypt and Turkey were becoming daily more civilized. The education of the masses must be pushed on vigorously. "Those who are bent on improving and bettering India, " said Sir Syed, "must remember that the only way of compassing this is by having the whole of arts and sciences translated into their own language." Had Mr. Gandhi and the Congress under the inspiration of Mr. Gandhi not neglected this, there would have been no tragedy of communalism today.

Sir Syed was a man of good political sense. He went from place to place & harped passionately on the theme of Western education. He harped until he fired the inagination of the Muslims Thus he succeeded in founding at Aligarh the M.A.O. College in 1880. Later it developed into a university. He imported professors from England. He did all he could to brighten up the infant institution.

"Loyalty to British rule was synonymous with him" says Sir Valentine Chirol, "with loyalty to all the high ideals which he himself pursued and set before his students... So great and enduring was the hold of Sir Syed Ahmad's teachings upon the progressive elements in Mohomedan India that the All-India Muslim League was founded in 1905 almost avowedly in opposition to the subversive activities which the Indian National Congress was beginning to develop."

Sir Syed was not the only admirer of the British Tiger. Every Hindu statesman did likewise. These were the heydays of sincere lyoalty. And in this faithfulness the Congress Cat vied with the League Lion.

The policy of the Congress was loyalty to the Crown. Its leaders declared time and again that they were loyalists to the marrow in their backbones. "There were no more thoroughly loyal and consistent well-wishers of the British Government," declared W.C. Bonnerjea, the President of the first session of the Congress in 1885, "than were himself and the friends around him. In meeting to discuss in an orderly and peaceable manner, qucstions of vital importance affecting their well-being, they were following the only course by which the Constitution of England enabled them to represent their views to the ruling authority. Much had been done by Great Britain for the Benefit of India, and the whole of the country was truly grateful to her for that. She had given them order, she had given them railways and above all she had given them the inestimable blessings of Western Education." Thus the apologists of the British raj in those timid days, after the hours of the aftermath of the unsuccessful Indian Revolution, were as plentiful as strawberries. And neither the Congress Cat nor the League Lion were to blame for that.

Immediately after the formation of the Indian National Congress in 1885, Sir Syed set about to organize the Muslim community. In a letter to Major-General Graham in December 1888, Sir Syed stated that he had "undertaken a heavy task against the so-called National Congress, and formed an Association, the "Indian United Patriotic Association," the work of which is greater than the other works." The association promoted memorials to the Government to the effect that it was opposed to the political object and activities of the Congress. Sir Syed as a matter of fact was not against the Congress as a Hindu organization. He simply wanted the Muslim community to be better organized as a unit.

In due course of time a deputation headed by His

Highness the Aga Khan waited upon Lord Minto the Viceroy of India. It was in the spirit of opposition to the "subversive activities" of the Congress, records Sir Valentine Chirol, "that the influential deputation headed by the Aga Khan waited on Lord Minto to press upon the Government of India the Mahomedan view of the political situation created by the Partition of Bengal, lest political concessions should be hastily made to the Hindus which would pave the way for the ascendency of a Hindu majority equally dangerous to stability of British rule and to the interest of the Mahomedan minority whose loyalty was beyond dispute. It was again in the same spirit, and fortified by the promise which Lord Minto had on that occasion given them, that they insisted, and insisted successfully on the principle of community representation being applied for their benefit in the Indian Councils Act of 1909."

There is no doubt that Sir Syed did a great and unique service to the Muslim brotherhood. He impressed on it the necessity of getting out of the narrow groves of orthodox learning and theology. The profitted by his enthusiasm for Western science and culture. He gave the Muslims self-respect, high-mindedness and breadth of politicl outlook. He brought up the Muslims to a high level of political consciousness. He was a brilliant star on the horizon of Muslim India. He redeemed his community from the political slough and set it up *terra firma* once again. He made frantic efforts to arrest the overflowing tide of inertia in the Muslim ranks by an appeal to their Islamic patriotism. Religion was the only medium of education when political propaganda was unheard of. He addressed the Muslims for co-operation with the British and addressed the British for co-operation with the Muslims. He pleaded with the Government for educating the Muslims who had lagged behind the Hindu majority in the race for political power emanating from political consciousness.

He found the British rulers blessedly ignorant of the dire conditions prevailing among the Muslims. "He struck the right note," says C. F. Andrews, "at the right time by his public pronouncement that his own Muslim people had been unfairly treated. His appeal went home because it came from the depth of his own heart." Like a wall he stopped the degeneration of Muslims. Sir Syed wrote books but other people have also written books. Sir Syed founded college but other people have also founded colleges. But Sir Syed stopped the tide of reaction which nobody has accomplished. "That is the work of a prophet," said Sir Theodore Morrison.

Sir Syed braved the storm of opposition in the Muslim community. And he braved it manfully. He ruthlessly attacked the Muslim Mullahs for their boycott of foreign ideas which had invested the Hindus with politics and power. He pleaded for the unification of Muslim opinion. He wanted that" the justice or otherwise of the acts of the Government" must not be passed over unnoticed. He wanted the Muslims "to speak out openly and honestly" on all public affairs. He advocated an agitation for the recognition of Muslim rights. The British Parliament must be acquainted with Muslim requirements. "Can you expect that body," he said, "to take a deep interest in your affairs if you do not lay your affairs before it?"

Sir Syed was a great Indian but he was also a great Muslim. His nationalism was as sublime as his religion. His loyalty to the British was no dogged servility. He freely criticised the rulers. He was as bitter an enemy of bureaucracy as any nationalist today. "The opinion of many of these officials is," said Sir Syed, "that no native can be a gentleman." While Sir Syed was ready to join hands with the Indian National Congress in the fight for freedom, he did not want that Muslims should

merge themselves in the ocean of an overwhelming Hindu majority. That is exactly the outlook of Mr. Jinnah. In many respects Mr. Jinnah is following closely on the heels of Sir Syed. "Muslims in India." said Sir Syed, "must stand by themselves and work out their own salvation as a community." That is exactly what Mr. Jinnah says today. And that is exactly what distinguishes the Muslim League and the Hindu Congress. That is the bone of contention between Mr. Jinnah and Mr. Ghandi. That is the golden key to the deadlock of India.

Sir Syed was the first Muslim stalwart to determine that the Muslims must work out their own salvation instead of binding themselves to the apron-strings of the Hindus. The two communities were redically different in their out look. The interest of the two were diametrically opposite. Consequently Sir Syed advised the Muslim politicians to keep away from Hindu politics. The vital welfare of the children of Islam dictated this policy. They should not allow themselves to be swept off their feet by the weight of their overwhelming majority.

The birth of Indian National Congress in 1885 marked the birth of Western Democracy in India. It fulfilled the much-felt necessity of an All-India platform for the organization of public opinion. Mr. A.O. Hume had conceived this idea of discussing Anglo-Indian questions on a friendly footing. He did not want politics to be the be-all and end-all of the Congress, because there were many brilliant associations in the capital of India which had already pocketted that pleasant responsibility. The Congress was intended to be the mouthpiece of social and economic reform. But when ever and wheerever the Indian politicians came together, it was very natural that they should discuss politics. The father of the Indian National Congrees desired the Governors of

the Provinces to preside over the deliberations of the Congress so that an atmosphere of cordiality may be established.

Lord Dufferin took great interest in the matter, but he was not very roseate about the Indian National Congress. He felt that the project would not be of much use. No body of persons in the country was competent to carry out the same functions as were executed by His Majesty's Opposition in England. The Indian newspapers, he said, were not representative of the Indian people. If they really represented public opinion, they were not reliable. The English were necessarily ignorant of what the native circlers thought of their policy. The interest of the rulers as well as the ruled demanded that the Indian politicians should meet yearly. They should point out to the Government in what respect the administration was defective. They should suggest means of improvement. Lord Dufferin decided that such an assembly should not be presided over by the local Governor. In his presence the people might not like to speak out their minds. Thus Lord Dufferin permitted the birth of the Indian National Congress, but he was ever doubtful of its advantages. "India," he said, "is not a country in which the machinery of European democratic agitation can be applied with impunity."

Hindus, like Muslims, were loyalists. Loyalty was the principal creed of politics in those days. "Let us speak out like men," said Dadabhoy Naoroji, "and proclaim that we are loyal to the backbone, that we understand the benefits the English rule has conferred upon us; that we thoroughly appreciate the position that has been given to us, the new light that has been poured on us, turning us from darkness into light and teaching us the new lesson that the kings are made for the people, not people for the kings, and this new lesson

we have learned amidst the darkness of Asiatic despotism only by the light of free English civilization." The elder statesmen, Hindus as well as Muslims, were sincere in their protestations of loyalty to the idol of British imperialism. The young statesmen of tody, Hindus as well as Muslims, are not likely to protest loyalty to imperialism. And if here and there an upstart careerist does humble himself before his boss, his humanity is not likely to have the ring of sincerity. Whatever may be the differences between Mr. Jinnah and Mr. Gandhi, none of them will bend his knee before the British boss.

Year after year the presidents of the Congrees in the early days bore testimony of their loyalty to the British Crown. The august body of the Congress struck a clear and unmistakable note of loyalty at every session. The nationalist members were pleased to call themselves " the educated natives." By the very force of their education they were the " best appreciators " of the civilized and enlightened Government. They realised its blessings. Consequently they were the staunch supporters of British imperialism. "Be moderate in your demands," said Badruddin Tyebji," be just in your criticisms, be accurate in your facts, be logical in your conclusions, and you may rest assured that any proposition that you make to our rulers will be received with that benign consideration which is the characteristic of a strong and enlightened government."

It was not long before the discordant note of mixed hopes and fears was heard in the halls of Hindustan, even though Viceroy after Viceroy testified emphatically to the loyal and peaceful character of the Congress. But the Congress was not going to lie prostrate for ever at the feet of John Bull. Lord Randolph Churchill, the ancestor of Mr. Winston Churchill, declared in 1890 that he could sincerely remark that no one would rejoice

more than himself "if the deliberations of the Indian National Congress shortly to be resumed were to contribute effectually to the progress and the welfare of the Indian people." The Congress, however, underwent an ordeal of shocking experiences. These experiences were not devoid of beneficial effects. They chastened the politicians. They added clearness to their thoughts. They gave sobriety to their methods. They tempered their proposals with moderation. " If I might use a proscribed, but not unscriptual, phrase," said Sir pherozeshaw Mehta, "we must give even the devil his due."It was a bitter realization that the majority of the Congress proposals did not make much headway. The Government admired the Congress proposal to separate the Executive and the judicial functions, Lord Dufferin landed it as " a counsel of perfection." The Government was so absorbed in the admiration of the Congress suggestions that it often forgot to put them into practice!

" There is, however, no reason to despair," said Sir pherozeshaw. " If was once proved upon the sworn testimony in the Bombay High Court, before the late Chief Justice Sir Westropp, that a woman required twenty-two months for parturition in the air of the province of Kathiawar. It is not impossible, gentlemen, that the air of Simla may similarly necessitate a more than ordinarily long period of gestation to perfect even counsels of perfection; and therefore we must possess our souls in more than ordinary patience, lest any precipitate pressure might occasion a miscarriage."

The Congress leaders were getting bolder day by day. Bitter irony was taking the place of fervent loyalty. Time was coming when the criticism, as sharp as a dagger, was to oust even the sheathed irony. New ideals were stirring the young breasts. The deliberations of the Congress began to hover round precise pivots. A strong desire for self-expression was casting

the abiding sense of loyalty into the shadow. Financial policy was the first to fall under the hammer of nationalism. "Is it reasonable," asked Dadabhoy Naoroji, "is it just and fair, is it 'British' that all the cost of such greatness, glory and prosperity of the United Kingdom should be entirely, to the best farthing, thrown upon the wretched Indians, as if the only relation existing between the United Kingdom and India were not of mutual benefit but of mere masters and slave :as Macaulay pointed out to be deprecated?"

Dadabhoy Naoroji wanted that all measures of reform should be sponstaneous. Britain shoud make them in good grace and in good time. He did not like the sinister implications of Lord Cross who said, "I am certain that in the course of a few years the Indian people will force us to do them justice." The Congress leaders did not want England to postpone reforms until forced. That would be loss of grace for the giver. The nationalists wanted Great Britain to go ahead and thereby earn gratitude from the receiver. This emboldened attitude led to a steady progress. Public opinion asserted itself. The cordial relations between India and England were not disturbed. The Congress leaders tended, according to the *London Times* "to a better understanding between the rulers and the ruled." They furnished valuable opportunity of placing actual facts before the public. "My love for the Indian people," said W. S. Caine, "my belief in their future as a great self-governing portion of the British Empire, and my conviction of their natural capacity for self-Government deepens and strengthens every year."

It is exceedingly gratifying to note that the British friends of India urged the Indians to carry on their struggle against Britain for a more human regime in India. Sir Henry Cotton was the president of the Indian National Congress in 1904. Pandit Jawaharlal

Nehru might blush to hear Sir Henry Cotton's call for democracy. He stated that he had seen "signs of depression among the people." He had painfully "noticed a tendency to submit with resignation to the policy of a regime which affords no encouragement" to the aspirations of young nationalists. He was not surprised at these symptoms. Assuredly, he said, there was little cause for giving way to a sense of despondency. "It is not reserved for any human being" he said, "to set back the dial of time. The result of reaction is always to galvanize into fresh life. Be vigilant therefore; be hopeful; be of good cheer and of a gladsome countenance. Relax not your efforts, for the waves of progress are irresistibly dashing against the breakwater of prejudice, and even now the day is downing when Macaulay declared would be the proudest day of English history."

The glorious ideal of 'Self-Government' was formulated by Dadabhoy Naoroji in the Calcutta Session of the Indian National Congress held in 1906. There was no national greatness for India, he said, except by the application of the principle of "Self-Government". It was a memorable session. And Mr. Mohammad Ali Jinnah was present there as Private Secretary to Dadabhoy Naoroji. The rising lawyer was blooming into the full-fledged politician. Mr. Jinnah was true to his early teaching. And he was fired by the virile patriotism of men like the lion-hearted Sir Pherozeshah Mehta. Also he was influenced by the indomitable spirit of Gokhale. No wonder, Mr. Jinnah was an active member of the Congress.

Dadabhoy Naoroji stated at the Calcutta Session that the sufferings of India demanded reparation before God and men. There was already a revival of the noble British instinct of liberty. "The British people," he said, "would not allow themselves to be subjected for a

single day to such an unnatural system of government as the one which has been imposed upon India for nearly a century and half." He stated that an Indian has a right to claim the British rights. First, the administration of India should be in Indian hands just as the administration of Britain is in British hands. Foreign administration is the principal cause of economic drain and dire poverty. Self-Government is essential for material, moral, intellectual, political, social and industrial progress. Secondly, the control of revenue and finance must be in Indian hands who should take care of the national course and use it for the best advantage of the nation. Thirdly, all financial relations between England and India should be put on a footing of equality. India should be a partner in the Empire, as she is always declared to be. "We do not ask any favours," siad the Grand Old Man of India. "We only want justice."

Dadabhoy Naoroji wanted that demonstrations should be conducted for "Self Government" most earnestly and most perseveringly, quite peacefully but very enthusiastically. Agitation is the greatest political weapon in democracy and India must learn the use of that weapon. Most glorious achievements could be made through this peaceful method. Agitation was the hall-mark of reforms under Queen Victoria. And India decided to appeal to Her Majesty through the instrumentality of the same magnificent method. The Press and the Parliament were the very embodiments of agitation. Agitation is the only harmless weapon in the hands of a civilized man. If he wants anything and cannot get it he must agitate and move the Government. This is a weapon of moral force. But Dadabhoy Naoroji stressed the importance of the Press and requested his co-workers to lift it to a high level of efficiency." Indian journalists," he said, "were mere matriculates while the Anglo-Indian journalists were Masters of Arts in the University of British Agitation." In England the

chief weapon was agitation. And that was the only means of securing Self-Government for India. "Agitation, said Macaulay, "is inseparable from popular government." Without agitation no Reform Bill would have been passed. Without agitation the slave traffic would never have been abolished. The Grand Old Man wanted the nationalists to exercise their heads and hands in the use of the same moral weapon. No wonder he was warmly cheered. There were scenes of wildest enthusiasm. It was a day of national rejoicings. The Grand Old Man was loaded with garlands of flowers amid thunders of applause. The nation honoured the hero. And the hero mightily deserved the honour done by the nation.

Dadabhoy Naoroji declared that his aim was to teach "Self-Government". It was the duty of the younger generation to reach Self-Government. He had done his duty. Now it was for the youth to materialize the dream. The young generation was boiling with enthusiasm of Self-Government. The Congress statesmanship had passed out of the hands of the elder politicians. Exactly the same change and at the same time took place in the ranks of the Muslim Community.

The Extremists demanded that Boycott should be made the official policy of the Congress. And this demand of the Extremists could not be resisted. The people of this country had no voice in the administration. Therefore, boycott was the only method of voicing the protest. Vigorous speeches were hammered out. It was not a mere boycott of goods. Honorary offices were included. Not one leader of the people would associate with the Lieutenant-Governor in any legislative work. The elder statesmen were dumb-founded. Logic was defeated in the arena of patriotism Fervour got the upper hand. Frenzy and fanaticism blindfolded the eyes of cold-considered logic. A bid for power ensued. The Congress became a house divided against itself. "The strongest and the farthest-sighted men," accord-

ing to Mrs. Annie Besant, "held their ideals of constitutional progress firmly and fast." The younger elements were maddened by "the repressive measures adopted". Thus there was caused "a partition worse than that of Lord Curzon, a division of the national party." One section refused to despair of the Hou·e of Commons. The other section refused to expect anything from it. And behind these loomed up the Anarchist Party. It followed the cult of the bomb and the bullet. It worshipped the revolver. It was the incarnation of blind hatred. There was no constructive policy. It personified the mad efforts of the lads It dreamt of winning liberty, but it indulged in violent libertinism. "In the scales of history," says Mrs. Annie Besant, "shall all these be weighed.—Governments, Moderates, Extremists, Anarchists, and to each shall be assigned their own place." These happenings put the elder Muslim statesmen on their guard not only against radical Hindu but also against radical Muslim youth who had a revolutionary youth in common between them for want of a better thing.

The Hindus had come to occupy a unique position through the favouritism of the British rulers. Having grabbed the Mogul Empire from the Muslims, the foreign diplomats were successfully trying or win over the Hindus who had long been subjects of the Mogul Empire. The majority of the Hindus had long been used as a tool to ballast the strong and discontented Muslim minority until the turn of the century. The advent of European education invested the Hindus with political consciousness, while the Muslims being the victims of British partiality lagged behind. That is why Sir Syed Ahmad was amply convinced that the rise of Hindu politicians militated against the interests of the Muslim masses. He had to overcome Himalayan difficulties in launching the Muslim University, but it was a move in the right direction. Sir Syed Ahmad

sowed what M. Jinnah is reaping today. It is exhilarating to note that Sir Syed and Mr. Jinnah are following the same line of action.

Sir Syed found that the bulk of Indian Muslims were at sixes and sevens. They could not carry weight with the Congress. He found it expedient to organize the popular will. After the revolutionary spirit had invaded the Congress ranks, the elder Muslim statesmen could no longer hold their breath. The Muslim elders were wary of the Congress as the English elders were wary of the French Revolution. The Congress had already passed beyond the domain of qualified patriotism. It was essential that Muslim interests must be saved. For the Muslims it was not merely a question of political materialism. The Muslim problem was knotted, as Sir Syed said and Mr. Jinnah is repeating today, with spiritual culture. If Islam was not in danger, Islamic culture certainly was. The Muslim Educational Conference held in 1906 at Dacca was the hall mark of Muslim strategy. Sanity prevailed in the Muslim Conference although insanity had influenced the Hindu proceedings. The Nawab of Dacca introduced the resolution with a lengthy speech. A special political necessity urged for increased political activity. The Muslims must galvanize their community. They must wake up to the realities of life. A state of coma was undermining the Muslim community. Now there was a thrill of new life. India was on the eve of a new era. And the Muslims must not lag behind. From a cosy corner of cosmic culture, the Muslims were forced into the quagmire of politics. The Muslim claims must be justly represented. The life and death of Islamic culture demanded this. The Muslims were forced to give up their traditional reserve. They had to secure an easement of their doleful disabilities. The Hindu extremism had cleared the Muslim horizon. Years had wrought a vital change in the outlook of Muslim statesmen. The

Muslims were a clean-sighted race. Ignorant of politics, they were not ignorant of Islamic patriotism which is the milk of Islamic brotherhood. They could no longer keep aloof from the political current. They must march abreast of times. The following historic resolution was passed in the Dacca Conference :

"Resolved that this meeting composed of Musalmans from all parts of India, assembled at Dacca, decides that a political association, styled 'the All-India Muslim League be formed."

The Muslim League was formed for the furtherance of three important ideals. First, to establish a sense of harmony between the British bosses and the Muslim masses. Secondly, to protect the Muslim rights and interests. Thirdly—and this is the most important—"to prevent the rise among the Musalmans of India of any feeling of hostility towards other communities." A full-fledged constitution of the Muslim League was framed within four months. Thus the attitude of the League Lion was conciliatory towards the Congress Cat. As the Muslims were branded with disloyalty to the British Crown, the British Crown was to be assured of the Muslims' loyalty. But the League stood on its own feet. It did not look towards the British Tiger as a good instrument for hammering at the Congress Cat. The cat was older than the nephew cub, but the cub knew that one day it would snatch the rod of authority from the Auntie Cat.

The Muslim League was backed by the Muslim masses. And consequently it did not fizzle out in the storm and stress of overwhelming Hindu patriotism. The League Lion refused to act as a tool in the claws of the British Tiger, although it often used the British Tiger to pull its chestnuts out of the fire. "If it was legitimate to have the Congress as a constitutional

opposition to the British institutions " says Mr. Saiyid, "it was certainly legitimate at the time to have the Muslim League as a constitutional opposition to the Congress Policy." The cat, however, attacked the cub furiously. It thought it wise to strangle the lion in the hour of its birth. Attack followed attack. Blow followed blow. The League was subjected to scathing Congress criticism. The cub, however, kept a stout heart, a set face, and defiant look. It growled even though it had not yet learnt the use of its teeth. The sober-minded League leaders stuck to their guns and kept their powder dry. Even if the cub had no powder, the toy gun was dreadful enough to keep the cat away, In this toil and turmoil of political dust and din, Mr. Mohammad Ali Jinnah, the would-be great leader, remained faithful to the tail of the Congress pussy.

The fight between the tail and teeth of the cat was even more furious than between the cat and the cub. The Extremists were few. But they were furious. They were the very teeth of the Congress. The field for the teeth was wide. The nets for the teeth were widespread. "Anybody," said Viscount Morley, "who has read history knows that the Extremist often beats the Moderate by his fire, his heated energy, his concentration, by his very narrowness." The lesson of historic experience was full in the British minds. The Surat Session brought the matters to a head. It ended in chaos. The Moderates, however, saved the situation. A new constitution of the Indian National Congress was drawn up and it accommodated the Extremists. "The objects of the Indian National Congress," it said, "are the attainment by the people of India of a system of Government similar to that enjoyed by the self-governing members of the British Empire and a participation by them in the rights and responsibilities of the Empire on equal terms with those members." These objects were to be achieved by constitutional means.

There were conflicting ideologies in operation. And Mr. Jinnah studied those conflicting ideologies. The Congress was in action against British bureaucracy. The British bureaucracy was in action against the British democracy. The British democracy was ready to join hands with the Congress. But the Congress was divided against itself. Technically the League was against the Congress, but the Congress had successfully won over the younger element in the Muslim ranks. And Mr. Jinnah was among them. The Muslim League could have easily won over the elder Hindus, if it were to change its name. It was a tug-of-war between Extremist Muslims and Extremist Hindus on one hand and Moderate Hindus and Moderate Muslims on the other. While the Extremist Muslims joined hands with the Moderate Hindus, the Extremist Hindus and Moderate Muslims stood far apart. There was no touching point between them. Mr. Jinnah stood at the tangent where the Muslim circle touched the Hindus orbit.

Mischief was being wrought by the Extremists. Patriotism was red-hot in them. Their zeal was at its highest pitch. Dire poverty divided the Extremists from the masses. Wealth divided the Extremists from the Moderates. The political groups were divided and subdivided. Hope was centred round the middle classes. Jinnah felt that there was no royal road to political progress. Sustained effort was the supreme statesmanship. Stark, stern facts loomed large. Surat was an eye-opener to Jinnah. The Extremists must be brought round to the Moderates. Division rather than despair was the most dangerous factor. All warring groups must be woven into a single texture. A perpetual devotion was required. And it must be supplied. Jinnah was a man who admitted no defeat. Like Napoelon he planned to conquer and conquered to plan.

Mr. Jinnah played his first important role when the

Government of India decided to appoint an Indian Member to the Viceroy's Executive Council. It was a welcome gesture of Indianization. And the gesture sent a thrill of joy in the Moderate spheres. The portfolio of Law was thrown open. A lawyer of standing was wanted. The viceregal eye fell on Mr. S P. Sinha. Sinha was a flourishing lawyer. The protfolio was no temptation to him. He had fabulous legal practice. The highest post did not enchant him. It was less remunerative. As a practitioner of law he could earn more than as a Law Member. But Gokhale and Jinnah —that unique political pair—went to convince Mr. Sinha of his wrong course of action. He must not think of himself alone. Sinha must think of the country. This was the humanitarian mission shouldered by the Hindu Jinnah and the Muslim Gokhale. As already stated, they formed an excellent team. The two stalwarts of patriotism set out on a joy-ride to Calcutta. The argued with Sinha for a considerable time. "It would be a pity," said Gokhale, "if no Indian could be found suitable for the job." The Government of India would be justified in condemning Indians as unfit for the job. Sinha must accept the responsibility at least for sometime. A precedent must be established. "We want to establish a precedent," said Gokhale, "after which it will be difficult for the British to go back." No arguments held water with Sinha. His legal brilliancy pulled down citadel after citadel of opposition. The battle of wits continued. Two months elapsed. Gokhale was a mild-minded humanitarian, but Jinnah was himself a brilliant rapier of eloquence. He had caught the tartar, but he decided to beard the lion in its own den. Here is a remarkable piece of Jinnah's oratory :

"Dou you think we are fools to waste our time like that ? Do you think Gokhale is a fool to draw only seventy-five rupess from the Servants of India Society ?

Is he not capable of earning more? Do you think I am not losing my practice in Bombay owing to my being absent from my work? What are we begging of you for? Do you think it is something for our own personal good? We agree that you lose much, but you may resume your practice after you have served for sometime on the Executive Council in the interests of your country and your people."

These six questions were like six bullets to Sinha's sense of decency. They quite disarmed the legal warrior of Bengal. This armed Gokhale with success. This invested Jinnah with the recognition of the dynamic spirit. Jinnah marched out to realize the El Dorado of his ambitions. He busied himself with all the forces at his command. He mustered everybody round to one ideal. No wonder, Jinnah became the glorious ambassador of unity. He was the "cross-bencher at the Conference of Hindu and Muslim leaders convened at Allahabad in 1910" The League Lion was showing fervour of patriotic fire. If did not lag behind the Congress in condemning the anti-Asiatic legislation in South Africa. Sir Valentine Chirol has summed up the situation tersely :

"A new generation of young Mahomedans had nevertheless been growing up who knew not Sayyid Ahmed and ragarded his teachings as obsolete. The lessons which they had learnt from their Western education were not his. They were much more nearly those that the more ardent spirits among the Hindus had imbibed, and they were ready to share with them the new creed of Indian Nationalism in its most extreme form. Other circumstances were tending to weaken the faith of the Mahomedan community in the goodwill, not only of the Government of India, but of the British Government. Even the most conservative Mahomedans were disappointed and irritated by the revision of the

Partition of Bengal in 1911 when the predominantly Mahomedan Province of Eastern Bengal, created under Lord Curzon, was merged once more into a largely Hindu Bengal. The more advanced Mahomedans had been stirred by the revolutionary upheaval in Constantinople to seek contact with the Turkish Nationalist leaders who now ruled the one great Mahomedan Power in the world, and they learnt from them to read into British foreign policy a purpose of deliberate hostility to Islam itself inspired by dread of the renewed vitality it might derive from the returning consciousness in many Mahomedan countries of their own independent nationhood. In that light they see in the British occupation of Egypt, in the Anglo French Agreement with regard to Morocco, and the Anglo-Russian Agreement with regard to Persia, and last but not least, in the Italian invasion of Tripoli, the gradual development of a scheme in which all the powers of Christendom were involved for the extinction of the temporal power of Islam and, with it inevitably, according to orthodox doctrine, of its spiritual authority. The Ottoman Empire had been saved for a time by the protection extended to it for her own purposes by Germany who had alone stood between it and the disintegrating machinations of the 'European Concert' in Constantinople, bent on undermining the ascendancy of the ruling Mahomedan race by its menacing insistence on reforms for the benefit of the subject Christian races which could result only in the further aggrandisement of the independent Christian States already carved out of the Sul an's former dominions in Europe and in the introduction of similar processes even into their Asiatic dominions. The Balkan wars of 1912-13 appeared to bear out theory of a great European Conspiracy directed against Turkey as 'the sword of Islam, and whilst the sympathies of Indian Mahomedans of all classess and schools of thought were naturally enlisted in favour of their Turkish co-religion-

ists, the leaders of the advanced Mahomedan Party themselves went to Bonstantinople in charge of the Red Crescent funds collected in India and got into close personal touch with the Turkish nationalists who ruled in the name of the Sultan but derived their authority from the 'Committee of Union and Progress.' The same party had in the meantime gone a long way towards capturing the All-India Muslim League and bringing it into line with the advanced wing of the Indian National Congress."

The London Branch of the Muslim League appealed to the Muslims to cast in their lot with the Hindus. Wilfrid Blunt advised Muslim friends to mix their destiny with the Hindus. They were requested to abandon the narrow communalist policy. The League Lion was persuaded to identify itself with the political objective of the Indian National Congress. Maulana Abul Kalam Azad was not influenced with foreign situation. It was the Indian condition that weighed with him For him the magic of British favour went against the grain Throughout he had set his face against it on the broad political ground. Events were thus conspiring for a radical change in the Muslim outlook. The cat and the cub were on the point of embracing each other.

Maulana Mohamed Ali, however, was stoutly opposed to Muslims identifying themselves with the Congress in a common political objective. He severely criticized the London Muslim League for its pro-Congress propaganda. "Soft-headed and some self-advertising folk," he said, "have gone about proclaiming that the Mussalmans should join the Congress because the Government had revoked the Partition of Bengal or because Persia and Turkey are in trouble. We are simply amused at this irresponsible fatuity. But when a responsible body like the London

Branch of the All-India Muslim League talks of close co-operation between Hindus and Muslims because the Mussalmans of Tripoli and Persia have been the victims of European aggression, we realize for the first time that even sane and level-headed men can run off at a tangent and confuse the issues. What has the Muslim situation abroad to do with the condition of the Indian Mussalmans? Either their interests come actually into conflict with those of the Hindus, or they have been all along guilty of a great political meanness and hypocrisy. Has the Indian situation undergone a change ?

This was a powerful unanswerable bombshell. Maulana Mohamed Ali was no doubt a great logician. He ruled the destiny of the Muslim masses. And the Muslim interests were safe in his hands. The Indian situation had undergone no change. Consequently the brilliant politicians of India could not work out a common formula. The cream of the Idian leadership met and parted, parted and met again without arriving at a tangible solution. "The unbending attitude of the Hindu leaders." says Mohammad Noman, author of *Muslim India*, "disappointed the Muslims and convinced them that the Hindus desired no compromise." Thus a golden opportunity was sacrificed at the altar of false pride. During the Congress Session in 1910, Mr. Mohammad Ali Jinnah moved a resolution deprecating the extension of the principle of separate Communal Electorates to municipalities. district boards, and local bodies. He was also the member of the Congress deputation that placed the Congress point of view before the Viceroy.

Nineteen hundred and nine (1909) was turning point in the career of Mr. Mohammad Ali Jinnah. He became a member of the Supreme Legislative Council. He was elected by the Muslims of Bombay Presidency. To Muslim Knights from Bombay quarrelled with each

other and neutralised their mighty strength. Each claimed the sole representation of the Muslim community but neither possessed it. So the choise fell on Mr. Jinnah, the brilliant young lawyer. Immeditaly after elections Mr. Jinnah supported the Resolution on Indentured Labour for Natal. "If I may say at the outset," he said, "It is a most painful question —a question which has rouced the fellings of classes in this country to the highest pitch of indignation and horror at the harsh and cruel treatment that is meted out to Indians in South Africa."

The following extract from the biography of Gokhale by Shahani explains why Gokhale, the political model of Jinnah, was so much appreciated by the hero of this book :

"The Hindu Muslim tension, already growing at an alarming pace, reached the utmost limit when the Hindus found their Mohammedan brethren was favoured a little more than themselves under the Reforms Scheme. Gokhale had made it perfectly clear in his political creed that the interests of the minorities must be safe-guarded to the utmost; and though he now found that Lord morley had given their Mohammedan friends even more than what Lord Minto had at first proposed or than what he himself had thought legitimate, he refused to have any quarrel with what they had actually received He was never weary of reminding his Hindu brethern that the present political position of the country did not allow them to wrangle among themselves ; Hindus and Mohammedans together even were too few to obtain from the Government all that they wished for the amelioration of the country. This tone of moderation was very much appreciated by the enlightened Mohammedans who, to accord them full justice, recognised in Cokhale a leader of all India, regardless of any particular creed or caste and therefore

a majority of them unswervingly supported him in his work on the Supreme Council and outside."

Mr. Jinnah was one of the first and foremost Muslim gentlemen who gained under the Reforms Scheme. Many a time Mr. Jinnah crossed swords with his Excellency Lord Minto, the President of the Supreme Legislative Council. Such a courageous attitude was unheard of in those days. The local press displayed his parliamentary duels in bold headlines. Forthwith Mr. Jinnah became the public idol. Jinnah's short and pithy speeches bore the distinctive stamp of his personality. He avoided controversies of racial, national or personal character. Mr. Jinnah supported Gokhale's Elementary Education Bill.

"My friend the Hon'ble Nawab Abdul Majid," said Mr. Jinnah, "has said that there will be strikes and there will be socialists amongst us, and I think the Hon'ble Nawab Majid brought in the political danger that if you give education they will become agitators. Well, Sir, I honestly and sincerely appeal to the Government. Do you really think that education means sedition ? I say, Sir, that a frank and independent criticism of the Government or the measures of the Government is the duty of every member of the State. But let me tell you that you have no better friends in this country—I mean the friends of the Government than the educated classes of this country. But, if I may say so, we love the British Government but we love our country more, We come forward and criticize the Government, We say, "you are going wrong. It may be we are wrong. It does not follow because we say you are wrong, therefore you are wrong. But surely, fair, free and independent criticisms of the Government do not constitute sedition."

This is a remarkable argument. Justice and fairplay

are the essential features of Mr. Jinnah's nationalism. It pervades all sentiments of nationalism. He had the pious hope of playing an important Islamic par in the Congress. But his hopes were very far from being realized. He believed that the destiny of Islam was linked up with the rest of India. His belief was sincere. But sincerity alone is not enough. It only serves to intensify one's blind faith. By India's political progress, he thought, Muslims were bound to p ofit. The affairs of the Congress were in the hands of the Realists. Zest and zeal were not the outcome of a mere slogan. Mr. Jinnah did not indulge in a whirlwind of catchwords. He kept his eyes fixed on the stern face of dire reality. The backwardness of the Muslims had to be faced. And Mr. Jinnah was prepared to face it. Also he was not prepared to sacrifice life-long principles on the altar of timidity. He could not barter away his eternal life for temporal luxury. He took part in the Council debates with studied interest. There is a spirit of youthfulness about his enthusiasm. "Sir," he said once in the Council, "if I may say so, I represent a class, an educated class and young India in this country. Representing the modern India and the young educated class in this country, I feel that I am expressing their sentiments on this occasion and I feel that there is a large body of men who feel exactly as I am feeling to-day."

Mr. Jinnah was responsible for piloting the Wakf Validating Bill. "His admirable skill and tact in piloting through such an intricate and controversial measure—the first instance of a Bill passing into legislation on the motion of a private member—won him not only the appreciation of his colleagues but also his first meed of his general recognition from his co-religionists all over India, who while still regarding him a little outside the orthodox pale of Islam, were so soon to seek his advice and guidance in their political affairs."

India and the world were fraught with changes exercising great influence on the Muslims. The annulment of the Partition of Bengal sacrificed the Muslim interests ruthlessly. The increasing deterioration of the Turkish power roused Islamic sentiment against England. The Muslim middle-class masses were dazzled by the political power of the Indian National Congress. The Muslim cub could not face the Congress cat. It was best to organize the Muslim outlook both from within and without the Congress. A group of intellectual stalwarts were busy in cementing Hindu-Muslim unity. They were framing a common ideal and a common platform for the people. These men were toiling incessantly. They succeeded a great deal in easing the situation. An atmosphere of trust was created. Among these stalwarts were included Mohammad Ali Jinnah and Gopal Krishna Gokhale who formed a brilliant team of workers. Their remarkable sincerity of purpose is still unmatched among India.

The Muslim League was prepared to undergo a radical change. Mr. Jinnah was invited to participate in the discussions. It was decided in 1913 that the ideal adopted should be the "attainment under the aegis of the British Crown of a system of self-Government suitable to India through constitutional means, by bringing about, amongst others, a steady reform of the existing system of administration by promoting national unity, by fostering public spirit among the people of India, and by co-operation with other communities for the said purpose." The League Lion desisted from framing a hard and fast model of Government. The Congress Creed did not find favour with the League. Consequently, the idea of self-Government was left vagve. It was left to be moulded according to the turn of events. Time and tide were to decide the final form. The colonial form of Government was considered "inadmissible" as

well as politically "unsound" by Sir Mohammad Shafi. The conditions prevailing in the colonies have no analogy to those obtaining in India "I am in entire accord with my friend the Hon'ble Mr. Jinnah," said Sir Mohammad Shafi, "in thinking that the adoption of any course other than the one proposed by the Council would be absolutely unwise." Jinnah's influence was vividly felt in the ranks of the Muslim League. On his instigation the following resolution was passed :

"The All-Indian Muslim League places on record its firm belief that the future development and progress of the people of India depend on the harmonious working and co-operation of the various communities and hopes that the leaders of both sides will periodically meet together to find a *modus operandi* for the joint and concerted action in questions of public good."

Thus Mr. Jinnah was rendering a unique service to the cause of Indian unity. No wonder, he attracted attention throughout the country. His ardent patriotism became a watchword. Dozens of sincere admirers gathered round Jinnah. Soon he became the symbol of unity. He out-Hindued the Hindus in his zeal for Hinduism. He might well have been the incarnation of Akbar the Great, so great was his zeal for unity. Mrs. Sarojini Naidu, the nightingale of India, sang praises of Mr. Jinnah. "Never was there a nature," she said, "whose outer qualities provided so complete an antithesis of its inner worth. Tall and stately, but thin to the point of emaciation, languid and luxurious of habit, Mohammad Ali Jinnah's attenuated form is the deceptive sheath of a spirit of exceptional vitality and endurance."

The two political joy-riders, Gokhale and Jinnah, set out for Europe in the spring of 1913. It was a long, idle holiday they wanted. But they never got it.

There was no rest for the tireless leaders. In England they were drawn into the tangled web of the Indian student world. They had espoused the students' cause with zeal and understanding. So they could not escape from it now. The London Indian Association formed an excellent focus for the scattered energies of Young India. Indian students were suffering keenly from a set of new rules. The educational centres were no longer a hospitable and easy of access to them as they had been ormerly. Mr. Jinnah addressed a meeting at the Caxton Hall. He told them to avoid politics. They were there in England to study and their energies must be spent in that direction alone. He did not want them to come into conflict with the authorities in any way. Students must get rid of exclusiveness and develop a wider national outlook. They should enter politics when they returned home. In England they should make friends among themselves so that they can serve their country as a united team. He did not advise them to eschew political discussion. They should enter political discussion but keep clear of active politics. It was none of their business. They should not give the Government cause for precautionary measures. They must observe a high code of honour and morality. They should avoid strong outbursts. On the other hand, they should become earnest workers and serious thinkers. They should return to India as great missionaries of progress. With these ideals Mr. Jinnah founded the Central Association for the young citizens of the educational empire. He wanted to direct their energies into right channels.

In the autumn of 1913 Mr. Jinnah joined the Muslim League in consequence of most earnest persuasions of Maulana Mohamed Ali and Syed Wazir Hasan. The latter happened to be in England in connection with the League work. "Typical of his exquisite, if somewhat exigent sense of humour," says Mrs. Sarojini

Naidu, "is it to find that even so simple an incident partook of something tike a sacrament. His two sponsors were required to make a solemn preliminary covenant that loyalty to the Muslim League and the Muslim interests would in way and at no time imply even the shadow of disloyalty to the larger national cause to which his life was dedicated." Returning home he plunged into the work directly. The band of untiring, sincere workers was busy in bringing the Hindus and Muslims together. Both we reasked to concentrate their attention on the one united ideal. India is not the India of the Hindus or the India of the Muslims. It belongs to everyone of us. If there had been misunderstandings in the past, let us forget them. "The India of the future," said Bhupendra Nath Basu, "will be stronger, nobler, greater, higher, and a brighter India than was realised by Asoka in the plenitude of his power, a better India than was revealed to Akbar in the wildest of his visions." Mr. Jinnah was determined to play the part of the glorious angel of unity. He used his good offices for Hindu Muslim unity. He utilised the blessings of his presence to the advantage of his peoples. He was a staunch Congressite as well as an influential Leaguer. Gifted with a high social position and great intellectual qualities, Mr. Jinnah became the spokesman of articulate India. He won a place in the Congress Delegation that proceeded to England to meet the Parliament. There Mr. Jinnah urged the introduction of the principle of elections in India. The political power, he should rest inside India, and the Secretary of State should be reduced to a figure-head. The argument deeply stirred the minds of the people. An Indian should be a member of the British Empire. He should not be denied the rights and privileges of British citizenship. The unpleasant events in South Africa had created bitter feelings. And these should be prevented from repeating themselves. "India," said Mr. Jinnah, "is perhaps the only

member of the British Empire without any real representation, and the only civilised country in the world that has no real system of representative Government." The Congress Delegation returned home towards the end of the year. Its services were acknowledged in a vote of thanks passed at the Madras Session of the Congress.

Mr. Mohammad Ali Jinnah came to be hailed as a leader of Young India. Young Muslims were particularly attracted towards him. He was singled out to inaugurate the Muslim Students' Union. He reminded the students that the primary aim of their life must be to unite the hearts of their peoples. It was a stroke of self-revelation. He unfolded his own mind before the public. He wanted the students to be instrumental in furthering the aim of his life. He told the students to bear in mind the value of discipline. He also told the students to practise self-reliance; unity he added, was absolutely essential to progress. He earnestly appealed to them to do away with dissensions. The current system of education did not lead to the road of progress. They must supplement their book education with creative thinging. Every one of them should be a true patriot. Patriotism is the royal road to progress. They must understand the political affairs of the country even though they do not enter politics.

A man can take interest in politics without participating in political agitation. Jinnah never advocated that students should take an active part in politics, but they must understand and take interest in politics. It had become the life-blood of the people of India. Every student must be passionately fond of his country. They must enter life with a great determination. They must stand by their principles even at a sacrifice.

Gokhale shuffled off his mortal coil in February 1915. He was a symbol of unity and his death was a

great loss to the country. He was the glorious bridge between Mr. Jinnah and Mr. Gandhi. Each of them lost a teacher and a guide. Gokhale, said, Jinnah, was a great man, enjoying the confidence of both communities. The country was very poor by his loss. He was trusted by all. He criticized freely the administration of the country in the interest of the nation. In all his utterances, Gokhale was guided by the light of reason. He was not an idealist. He was an earthly man with courage to face facts. Therefore, he was a help to the Government. He was a source of great strength to the people. His life was a radiant example before the country. He could guide the destinies of his people materially and powerfully. His lead was a source of inspiration to every body. For Mr. Jinnah it was a matter of pride and pleasure to follow the lead of Gokhale. Gokhale was the very lighthouse of selfless patriotism. He commanded the respect of officials as well as non-officials. Mr. Jinnah honoured the departed colleague with an acknowledgment of leadership. The lesson that Gokhale taught him has never gone unheeded. Mr. Jinnah has never abandoned the glorious path shown by his brilliant coleague. He has never lost sight of the persistence with which Gokhale pursued his efforts. Truth must at last conquer the dark demon of falsehood. Faithfulness to the cause must be rewarded. Temptations and allurements for an immediate glory must be disregarded. Personal interest must be scrificed on the altar of public good. These were the guiding stars of the life of Gokhale. These qualities formed a halo round the head of that unique patriot.

It was Gokhale who taught Mr. Jinnah honesty without humbug. The honesty of Mr. Jinnah cannot be called in question even by his severest critics. Unlike Mr. Gandhi, he seeks no shelter in sanctimonious spiritual impediments. Mr. Jinnah abjures alik the halo nd he high place. He has honest hatred of the beard

and the bargain. He does not want to crystallize his mystic voice into cash. He has an unemotional shrewdness. Like Gokhale, he strips facts to their naked reality. His perseverance recognises no obstacle as insurmountable. Like Gokhale, he has an intellectual acumen that can see the detail as part of the whole. No wonder, Mr. Jinnah has arisen to be the Qaid-i-Azam of the Indian Muslims As Mr. Liaqat Ali says, Mr. Jinnah is "the Disraeli of the Indian politics." Mr. Gokhale and Mr. Jinnah acted and reacted upon each other, and Mr. Jinnah is the flower of that action and reaction. If Mr. Jinnah is being misunderstood by the Hindus to-day, it isn't his fault. It is a pity that such a great man should be the victim of so much misunderstanding. Let us hope that the fog of suspicion will be lifted from the misty horizon of Indian politics, and Mr. Jinnah will be acknowledged one day as the Muslim Gokhale. Pakistan, so misunderstood, is the stepping-stone to that realization.

Mr. Jinnah continued the process of amalgamation. "The Indian National Congress and the All-India Muslim League," he said, "both have for their goal the attainment of self government for India. The recognition of this claim will have to be judged and will depend greatly upon how the Congress and the League organize, control and conduct themselves this year and in the near future." Mr. Jinnah, however, made clear that the Congress Cat and the League Lion could not become one, because the difference between them was one of kind and not of degree. But there was no harm if the cat and cub decided to sup together while the British Tiger was in possession of their house. "I wish to state with the greatest emphasis," he said, "that there is no truth in the baseless statements made in some quarters that any responsible Muslim leader thinks that the League should be merged into the Indian National Congress. But conference, in collaboration,

if possible, is the object and what objection is there to this course ?"

Mr. Jinnah wanted that difference should be buried. The cat and cub should show a united front. They should acquit themselves with credit and honour. The Muslim League could claim the power of organization. If had the solidarity of Muslim opinion and their true worth. "It will make our Hindu friends value us all the more," he said, "and will make them feel more than ever that we are worthy of standing shoulder to shoulder with them for the cause of the motherland." But this point the Hindus never understood. They gladly misunderstood. The Hindus have watched the growth of the Muslim League with jealousy, as the British watched the growth of the Indian National Congress with suspicion. The Congress did not feel delighted as the Muslim leaders tried to unite the Muslim masses under the flag of the Muslim League. That remains an eternal bone of contention between Mr. Gandhi and Mr. Jinnah. While Mr. Jinnah has recognised like a sportsman that the Congress represents the Hindus, the Congress has refused to believe that the Muslim League voices the opinion of the Muslim masses. While Mr. Gandhi calls himself a representative of the whole of India, he has not acknowledged Mr. Jinnah as a representative of the Muslims during the last thirty years. The very politics of the Congress seems to have a diseased outlook. If Mr. Gandhi, as a leader of the Hindus, could meet Mr. Jinnah, as a leader of the Muslims, the whole tangled web of communalism could be swept off in five minutes. By inoculating himself with a false psychology the Hindu leader has become a danger to the future and freedom of India.

The solidarity of the Muslim masses under the Muslim League, said Mr. Jinnah, "will prove to British politicians and statesmen, to Parliament and the British nation generally, that we are not crying for the moon

when we ask for self-government, but that we are determined and are in earnest about it, and that we shall pursue our course steadfastly and unitedly till the goal is realized." Nobody can deny that Mr. Jinnah has been pushing this goal steadfastly even if the goal ever escapes from the grasp and recedes into distance like a will-o-the-wisp. Nevertheless, Mr. Jinnah said in 1915, as he repeated in 1945, "I urge all the Muslims to rally round the flag of the All-India Muslim League, and as true patriots, stand by its constitution and thus make the community feel proud of the only political organization it possesses at present."

The All-India Muslim League and the Indian National Congress met in Bombay in November 1915. There was an atmosphere of complete cordiality. Maulana Mohamed Ali was humorously ironical about it. "So rapid had been the progress of the Mussalmans," he said, "that a mildewed critic from among their own community observed that Lord Sinha, the Bengal President of the Bombay Session of the Indian National Congress had travelled thither by the same train as his Bihari neighbour and brother-lawyer who presided over the Muslim League, and the two had borrowed one another's Presidential Addresses in order to compare notes. By some unfortunate mistake, Lord Sinha read out the halting and hesitating address of the ever-loyal Muslim while the ever-loyal Muslim read out the piquant and pungent address of the ever disloyal Bengali. But, said the critic with more wit than wisdom, the two Presidents forgot to take back their own productions, and by an irony of fate Maulana Mazhar-ul-Haq had read to his Muslim audience as his own the pungent oration characteristic of the Bengali, and Lord Sinha had done like-wise and read to the Congress delegates the cautious and halting address of the 'ever loyal Muslim'."

The cub and the cat were going to embrace each

other. Mr. Gandhi had recently returned from Africa. He was busy in his own sphere. He was reclaiming the extremists back into the fold of the Congress. The constitution of the Congress threw open the doors of the Congress for the extremist elements This was followed by a hearty response from the Congress members to join hands with the League. Tilak announced his willingness to re-enter the field of united action through the door that was left ajar for him and his orthodox followers. "We heard," says Mr. Indulal K. Yajnik in *Gandhi As I Know Him*, "that Mr. Gaudhi helped in bringing about this settlement. But on the whole his contribution to the proceedings of this important session may be deemed to have been quite insignificant."

Mr. Jinnah's re-election in the autumn of 1916 was a vindication of the stand that he had taken in the Imperial Legislative Council. He had earned "unanimous respect and esteem by his personal dignity of character and his fearless and vigilant championship of Indian rights and demands." Once again he threw the weight of his argument for briding the gulf in the inner circles of the two communities. Thus Mr. Jinnah played an important role as a member of the Congress as well as important role as a member of the Congress as well as of the Muslim League and the Imperial Legislative to crown the both. "One thing, however, is clear," he said in the Bombay Provincial Conference. "It is not a question of a few more seats going to the Muslims or the Hindus. It is a question, as I have already pointed out, in the first instance, of transfer of power from bureaucracy to democracy. Let us concentrate our attention and energy on this question alone for the moment. The Hindus and the Mussalmans should stand united and use every constitutional and legitimate means to effect the transfer as soon as possible. In conclusion, let me tell you that, after all, a great deal depends upon ourselves. Hindus and Muslims united and firm, the voice of the three hundred

millions of people vibrating throughout the length and breath of the country, will produce a force which no power on earth can resist. India has, I believe, turned a corner. She has passed through great sufferings and borne them patiently for centuries. There is now a bright and great future in front of her. We are now on the straight road; the Promised Land is within sight."

This is a statement which Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru might blush to claim as his own. It is a crystal exposition of the national outlook. No doubt Mr. Jinnah was once capable of making the highest sacrifice and going the longest way to grasp the Hindus' hand of friendship. And if in 1945 he feels bitter against the Hindus, it is because the Hindus have embittered the Muslims. Mr. Jinnah can very well forego his own interests, but not the interests of his community. All along he has best personified within himself the trend of events. Had Mr. Gandhi not come up with his brand of reactionary asceticism, Mr. Jinnah was fairly on his way to become the mouthpiece of United India. When Mr. Gandhi brought religion into politics, he rang the deathbell of nationalism. It is the spirituality of Mr. Gandhi and his followers that has proved to be the seed-bed of communalism.

The schemes outlined by the League and the Congress were to be finally formulated by the cub and the cat at Lucknow. Both the political "animals" met together. I dare call the political organization as animals, because politics has an element of animality about it. The Lucknow Session was a golden event in the political history of India. The reunion of the two wings of the Congress was a important as the reunion of the two wings of India. Raja of Mahmudabad, Mazharul Haq and Mr Jinnah represented the Muslims in the theatre of the Congress procession. It

was a unique spectacle. Mr. Mohammad Ali Jinnah also presided over the League Session. He was the hero of the Muslim India and also an idol of the Hindu politicians. A pillar of the Muslim community, he propped up the bridgeway between the Hindus and the Muslims. Like Abraham Lincoln, he was at this time "the shining hope of India free." His presidential address was marked by passionate devotion to the cause of Hindu-Muslim settlement. He made a frank analysis of the public mind. His fervent appeal to the major communities was touching in the highest degree. He was true to the dictates of divine duty. He was conscious of the grave responsibilities he had accepted. A President of the August organization he echoed the feelings of the Muslim masses He examined everyting dispassionately. His arguments were crisp and clear-cut without any sentiment. He was determined to chalk out a safe and sure path for the Indian political development. He found that unalloyed reason is not the chief motive power in human things. "In the affairs of our common secular existence," he said, "we have to deal not with angels but with men, with passions, prejudices, personal idiosyncracies, innumerable cross-currents of motives, of desires, hopes, formidable complications in its texture." That is a magnificent psycho-anlaysis. "In India," he said, "we meet with a set of social, ethnological, and cultural conditions unparalleled in recorded history." India is a vast continent inhabited by the four hundred millions of people, sprung from various racial stocks. They inherit various cultures and they profess multifarious creeds. All this means a great diversity of outlook. Every nation-builder fully realizes the magnitude of this task. But such difficulties hold no terror for the nation-builder. They vanish like a cobweb before the new force of youthful patriotism.

Mr. Jinnah was not disheartened by the obstacle of reactionary elements. He bridled the Muslims from the

Muslim platform and reined the Hindus from the Hindu plank. "Amid the clash of warring interests and the noise of foolish catchwords," he said, "no cool-headed student of Indian affairs can lose sight of the great obvious truisms that India is, in the first and last resort, for the Indians." Mr. Jinnah sought no favour for the Muslim masses. He craved no partial treatment. These were brave days when Mr. Gandhi had not yet donned his political loin-cloth. "We want no favours," he said, "and crave for no partial treatment. That is demoralising to the community and injurious to the State." He taught the Muslims self-respect. He wanted a healthy and hopeful impetus to be given to Muslim aspirations. "It is the sacred duty of the Government," he said, "to respond to that claim. Towards the Hindus our attitude should be of goodwill and brotherly feelings. Co-operation in the cause of our motherland should be our guiding principle." With regard to Muslim affairs, he said, the Muslims could depend upon nobody except themselves. Due to the relentless efforts of Mr. Jinnah, the Lucknow sessions of the Indian National Congress gave birth to the Congress-League Agreement. It is known as the Lucknow Pact.

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Thus the Muslims had come up to the level of the Hindus by the time the Lucknow Pact was produced. Not the Muslim masses, but only the Muslim politicians were able to grapple with the Hindu politicians. The Muslim masses were still behind the Hindu masses, although they were fast making up their deficiency in education, improving the material and mental prospects. The Lucknow Pact was the consummation of the steady Muslim move towards self-determination. It gave the Muslim masses a separate cultural entity. It was a glorious success for the ideals of Muslim League. The Muslim League became the most powerful mouthpiece of the Muslim gentry.

Then there followed the Khilafat Movement. In the Khilafat Movement, the League lagged behind. It ceased to be the effective voice of the Muslim millions. It was the Congress that emerged as the most powerful organization. It was the cunning cat that licked the lordly lion. And licked it badly. The lordly League lion lay in the lair—so goes a rhyme. The objective of the movement was to maintain the integrity of the Turkish Empire. The Khilafat Movement was a great movement. It was a Muslim movement headed by a Hindu mahatma. The Muslim were smitten like a wounded lion. They were awakened to a sense of political unity. The movement released an atomic energy. It unleashed an uncontrollable enthusiasm. Mr. Gandhi made a great mistake in putting his fingers in a religious cauldron. Mr. Jinnah wisely kept aloof. The Khilafat Movement was a religious movement. And every Indian statesman should have kept aloof. But Mr. Gandhi did not keep aloof. He could not. Not satisfied with meddling with Hindusim, he marched into the territory of Islam. Mr. Gandhi was following the policy of opportunism.

Mr. Jinnah was offended. And rightly so. Mr. Gandhi was sowing seeds of discord, the thorns of communalism. He was undoing all that the Lucknow Pact had done. A gulf was being dug out between the Congress Cat and the League Lion. Although the lion watched unconcernedly, it was badly bitten. Why did Mr. Gandhi burn his fingers in a pan-Islamic movement ? It is hard to guess. He called it "an opportunity of uniting Hindus and Mohammedans as would not arise in a hundred years." But a political opportunity is a perishable commodity. And the cement of Hindu-Muslim unity cannot be kneaded out of such a stuff. But Mr. Gandhi who if worried over eternal problems has no hesitation to put a shaky structure on the edge of a perilons rock like Charlie Chaplin's wooden cabin in *The Gold*

Rush. Mr. Gandhi's action might well have been called a "glamour rush." He was in a hurry to capture cheap popularity after his return from Africa.

The compulsory disappearance of the Lion was not for the good of the Cat. Mr. Gandhi should not have utilised the enthusiasm of the Khilafat Agitation for strengthening the Congress at the cost of Muslim League. He was aiming at the complete absorption of Islam into Hindudom. He set about to undo what Sir Syed had accomplished with great effort. Unconsciously, Mr. Gandhi was committing a great blunder. His introduction of Non-co-operation Movement in India was a serious blunder. He should have left behind the African tools in Africa. In Africa where Indians were in a minority, *Satyagraha* was a medicine for Hindu-Muslim unity. In India, it proved a poison. *Satyagraha* is all right where the foreigners numerically dominate the Indians, but it is out of place where the Indians predominate the foreigners in overwhelming numbers.

When the Non-violent Non-co-operation Movement was launched by Mr. Gandhi, Maulana Mohamed Ali was in England. He had gone thither on a Khilafat Deputation. On his return he expressed regret at the method of the boycott that had been adopted. The Maulana would have preferred the Sinn Fein way to the Mahatma's method of *Satyagraha*. Even Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru was critical of the new weapon manufactured by Mr. Gandhi. "It was quite immaterial what other individuals thought in the matter," he says, "as ultimately Gandhiji's will was bound to prevail." Thus for a Personel whim, Mr. Gandhi brought a bloody clash between the Government and the Muslims of India. The pearl of Islam was sunk in the ocean of Hinduism. Mr. Gandhi had done the doleful deed.

The Congress lined itself up with the Khilafat

Agitation. Mr. Gandhi was at the bottom of this peculiar policy. If Dr. Ambedkar is correct, it was only a narrow majority in the Congress rank and file that upheld the action of Mr. Gandhi. "A large majority of the delegates," he says, "were no others than the taxi-drivers of Calcutta who were paid to vote for the non-co-operation resolution."

Under these circumstances Mr. Jinnah was forced to assume a non-committal attitude. He delivered a very illuminating address in the annual session of the All-India Muslim League. "Mr. Gandhi, he said, "has placed his programme of non-co-operation, supported by the authority of the Khilafat Conference before the country. It now for you to consider whether or not you approve of its principle, and approving of its principle whether or not you approve of its details. The operations of this scheme will strike at each individual among you, and, therefore, it rests with you alone to measure your strength and to weigh the pros and the cons of the question before you arrive at a decision. But once you have decided to march, let there be no retreat under any circumstances." He criticized the self- satisfied Viceroy in Olympian Simla who offered his sympathies to the Muslims and criticized Mr. Gandhi's "the most foolish of all foolish schemes." The Viceroy, he said, was fortified with a charter from his Majesty's Government. This is the" changed angle of vision," he said, about which we heard high-sounding Phrases. "India's blood," he said, "India's gold was sought and unfortunately given—given to break Turkey and buy the fetters of the Rowlatt legislation."

Timdity, he said, was the notable feature of the reforms offered to India. The influence of Lord Chelmsford's Government offered us " license for liberty." Quoting an author, Mr. Jinnah said, " License for liberty does not compensate for liberty." Indians may

become Lieutenant-Governors, and governors. That is license but that is not liberty. "What we want," he said, "is true political freedom of the people and no posts or positions in Government." But the Government was bent upon inflicting injury after injury upon the people. Disappointment after disappointment can lead a people to only one end. It led Russia to Bolshevism. It led Ireland to Sinn Feinism. "May it lead India to Freedom !" said Jinnah. There was a wild roar of applause.

The Congress and the Muslim League met at Nagpur. The programme of Non-co-operation was finally discussed at that historic session. The Khilafat Movement swelled the Congress Cat. The Khilafat Movement shrank the League Lion. Medicine for one Proved Poison for the other. The Cat grew so big and the Lion so small, that the lion stood in mortal danger of the cat's claws and teeth. The League was pushed aside as a nonentity. Its platform was almost deserted. The Congress and the Khilafat Committee became synonymous. Both were put under the supreme leadership of Mr. Gandhi. He was all in all in the political field. He was the only man who counted with the Muslim masses. He had the reins of supreme leadership. The Nagpur, Session duplicated the Congress Khilafat programme. Great enthusiasm was the distinctive feature of this session. Over fourteen thousand delegates attended the meeting. Over a thousand of them were Muslims. The number of women delegates was one hundred and sixty-nine. Three members of the Labour Party of England attended as fraternal delegates. C.R. Dass, although very well backed, failed to oppose the resolution on Non-co-operation successfully. The whole affair was a great personal triumph for Gandhi, even though the President, C. Vijayraghavachariar, kept a very lukewarm attitude towards the resolution. C.R. Dass and Lajpat Rai were at last won over. One

moved the main resolution, and the other seconded it. Fifty thousand of the audience recorded their approval.

There was only one tall thin man who had the courage to stand up against overwhelming odds. He had courage to signify his dissent. Everyone was astonished. Colonel Wedgewood, the delegate of the Labour Party, exclaimed with satisfaction. He said that India was on the road to freedom. There was at least one man who had the strength to stand by his conviction. He faced alone a seething sea of huge opposition. This was a man with nerves of steel. And his name was Mohammad Ali Jinnah. He tried in vain to save India from political frenzy. He did not like that the political atmosphere should be charged with fanaticism. It governed all spheres of activity, and it was bound to result in confusion He knew that it would do more harm than good to India. Mr. Jinnah was not against agitation. Mr. Jinnah was not against revolt. He approved of political demonstration. He disapproved of the method adopted by his countrymen. Consequently he kept aloof from the popular movement. Mr. Gandhi had sown the wind and he allowed him to reap the whirlwind. Mr. Jinnah bowed his head uncompromisingly on the Malabar Hill while the storm blew over the country. He was not swept off his feet by the enthusiasm of fanatical politicians and political fanatics. And their number was very large. The first list included the name of Mr. Gandhi, the king of fanatics.

The attitude of Mr. Jinnah was severely criticized. His indifference was misunderstood at this crucial moment. Previously he had stamped himself deeply in the imagination of his people. There was no reason why he should have abstained from the cup of political bitterness in the country. The greatest patriot was said to be hiding his patriotism. The most courageous.

man was said to be showing a white feather. The champion of Indian freedom had gone to the wall. The ambassador of unity was not giving any message of co-operation. The upholder of justice and fairply had quitted the field. The political arena no longer rang with his applause. He refused to defend the rights of het Muslims. Perhaps, he found them too well-defended by Mr. Gandhi. And hence his support was not required. He ceased to personify the dynamic spirit of youthfull India. The Khilafat Movement raged throughout the length and breadth of the country. It was curious how he managed to stay ashore without being swept by the political flood. His attitude was seriously called into question. The situation of the country was fraught with great difficulties.

Mr. Jinnah agreed with the policy of agitation but not with the principle underlying it. The Government had followed a policy that wounded the self-respect of the country. Every man with the slightest intelligence condemned this policy. The Government, he said, was giving concession with one hand and repression with the other. If the authorities really desired co-operation, they must radically change their policy. But he was convinced honestly and sincerely in his mind that the programme of Mahatma Gandhi for whom he had great admiration was taking them into a wrong channel. Mr. Jinnah said if it were not taking them in the wrong channel and if he could be convinced so, he would have been the first man to join it. He had the greatest respect for Mr. Gandhi and his co-workers. He was firmly convinced of their noble and sacrificing spirit. He was proud of them. Nevertheless he believed that the programme of Mahatma Gandhi was leading them to the wrong channel. "In his opinion," said the *Bombay Chronicle*, "what they wanted was a real political movement based on real political principles and based on the fire which burnt in the heart of

every man for his motherland. So long as they had not that as the basis, their programme was defective." This is the sanest possible principle. And every political movement must be based on it. Mr. Gandhi has never realized this. And if Gandhi and Jinnah disagree, their difference is real, not verbal.

Mr. Jinnah did not know what the boys could do after withdrawing their names from schools and colleges. Mr. Gandhi had asked the people to spin the wheel for four or five hours a day, and if time was available to devote it to Hindi. Mr. Jinnah said emphatically that this was not a political movement. The first essential thing for any country to resist the Government was to mobilise the forces. Germany had mobilized her forces for a long time before she came out to fight. What was India's mobilization? And what was her strength? Mr. Gandhi had told the students to go to villages. But what to do there? "To educate the masses," said a voice. "Young man," said Mr. Jinnah "take it from me, the villagers know things better than you do." If we are going to regulate everything by the yard of non-violent non-co-operation, said Jinnah, we are forgetting human nature. We must not overlook that the masses are human beings and not saints. If we really want to serve our country, our purpose must be to let the political movement go on. Our first, foremost and fundamental purpose must be to raise the level of the average man of the country. Mr. Gandhi's programme is based on the doctrine of soul-force. It is an essentially spiritual movement. It is not a political programme even though it has a political objective. The principles of Mr. Gandhi are opposed to the nature of an ordinary mortal. Not one in a million can carry out Mr. Gandhi's doctrine which has its sole arbitrator his conscience. A real change of policy must be enacted to allay and satisfy the feelings of the people.

Mr. Gandi, as is usual with him, did not listen to Mr. Jinnah's voice of sanity. Agitation was put in full swing. Titles were renounced. Schools and colleges were closed down. Law courts were boycotted. Lawyers gave up their practice. Graduates tore up their degrees. The Government officials resigned their jobs. The mob was lashed into political fury. The arrest of Ali Brothers added fuel to the fire. The entire Muslim population was enraged. The Government resorted to rigorous repression. Muslims suffered heavily. Fury bred fury. The entire ethics of the moment was based on religious philosophy. To the Muslims, the Khilafat question was primary and Swaraj only a secondary thing. For the Hindus, the Swaraj was primary and the Khilafat a secondary thing. Thus the two communities fought for different objectives, although their means were the same. Such an ideology was bound to lead to chaos. The Government put her hands tightly on the pulse of the two communities. Communal riots became the order of the day. Bihar and Bengal witnessed scenes of bloodiest fights. Moplahs rose in an armed revolt. They came into conflict not only with the Hindus but also with the Government at the same time. The entire movement began to fritter away. The prophecy of Mr. Jinnah was a correct one. There was a clash between co-operators and non-co-operators in Bombay.

Mr. Mohammad Ali Jinnah could not keep mum. The lovers of freedom came forward to act as intermediaries between the "Gandhites" and the "Governmentites." An All-Parties' Conference was convened at Bombay. This conference unanimously condemned the Government policy of repression. It advised the Congress to abandon its resolution on mass civil disobedience. Thus the ground was prepared for the non-co-operators to return to their civil life. They began to see the light of reason. But Mr. Gandhi

made his agreement conditional on the release of all political prisoners. The promoters of the conference were therefore utterly helpless. Then Mr. Gandhi requested the Viceroy to give an indication of "honest desire" that the Government would respect public opinion. Aggressive Civil Disobedience would be taken up if the Government departed from its policy of "strictest neutrality."

Mr. Gandhi gave a seven days' ultimatum to the Government, but before the ultimatum expired, Chauri-Chaura changed the history of the movement. Twenty-one constables and a Sub-Inspector were driven by the mob inside the Police Station. Then the fire was set to the building and the men were burnt to death. They all perished in the flames. The tragedy opened the eyes of Gandhi to the realities of the situation. Mr. Jinnah had already warned him about this possibility, but Mr. Gandhi had turned a deaf ear to his warning. Now Mr. Gandhi realized his blunder. As a result, the entire movement was called off. Since Mr. Gandhi refused to listen the still sad and silent voice of humanity uttered by Mr. Jinnah, God drummed and banged it in his ears. That is inevitable for a man who puts too much of his faith in the cult of the Inner Voice. "God had been abundantly kind to me," wrote Mr. Gandhi. "He has warned me for the third time that there is not as yet in India the truthful and non-violent atmosphere which and which alone can justify mass disobedience. He warned me in 1919 when the Rowlatt Act Agitation was started. Ahmedabad, Viramgam and Kheda erred : Amritsar and Kasur erred. I retraced my steps, called it a Himalayan miscalculation, humbled myself before God and man . . . . The next time it was through the events of Bombay that God gave a terrible warning. He made me the eye-witness of the deeds of the Bombay mob on the 17th November. . . . I announced my intention to stop the Mass Civil Disobedience which was to

be immediately started in Bardoli. . . . But the bitterest humiliation was still to come. Madras did give the warning, but I heeded it not. But God spoke clearly through Chauri-Chaura."

Mr. Gandhi required "terrible penance of a fierce process of purification." It required the sacrifice of the imprisoned workers. It was the temporary sacrifice of many activities which had revived the nation. "But such things happen in all wars," he says, "much more frequently in spiritual warfare such as ours is claimed to be." Chauri Chaura secrificed the political prisoners as the first penitential act of Mr. Gandhi. They had gone to jail to be released only by the strength of the people. The hope was that the Swaraj Parliament's first act would be to open the prison gates. Now the Swaraj as well as the Parliament receded into the distant horizon. The hopes of the prisoners ended in smoke. They must now serve the full terms of imprisonment.

This is how the Khilafat Agitation frittered away. Hindu-Muslim Unity was its central pivot. It revolved round that pivot. But the union was only a temporary makeshift. It was a short-lived workable arrangement for a supposedly common cause. The outbreak of communal riots proved its hollowness. "This sudden bottling up of a great movement," says Nehru, "contributed to a tragic development in the country. The drift to sporadic and futile violence in the political struggle was stopped but the suppressed violence had to find a way out, and in the following years this perhaps aggravated the communal trouble. The communalists of various denominations, mostly political reactionaries, had been forced to lie low because of the overwhelming mass support for the non-co-operation and civil disobedience movement. They emerged now from their retirement. Many others, secret service agents and people who sought to please the authorities by creating communal

friction, also worked on the same theme. Ths Moplah rising and its extraordinarily cruel suppression—what a horrible thing was the baking to death of the Moplah prisoners in the closed railway vans—had already given a handle to those who stirred the waters of communal dtscord. It is just possible that if the civil resistance had not been stopped and the movement had been crushed by the Government, there would have been less communal bitterness and less superfluous energy left for the subsequent communal riots."

Mr. Jinnah's beliefs were firmly fortified by the trend of events. His policy of aloofness was amply justified. Then there came a split in the ranks of the Congress itself. Gandhism was becoming the hot-bed of division and disunity. C. R. Dass took up arms against Mr. Gandhi, and although he lost the duel, the very defeat was a victory for the ideas of Mr. Jinnah. It was now no longer possible for the League Leader to placate the Congress. The Congress was going under the heels of spiritualised dictatorship. But Mr. Jinnah hated dictatorship, however pleasantly it might be dressed. A firm advocate of democracy and democratic methods, Mr. Gandhi and Gandhism were too much for the nerves of Mr. Jinnah. He hated religion as well as dictatorship. And unfortunately Gandhism meant either and both. Consequently Mr. Gandhi and Mr. Jinnah stood at the parting of the ways. The entry of Gandhi in Congress politics spelt the exit of Mr. Jinnah. Their differences were not merely political. There was a deep psychological difference in their outlook. Separation of Gandhi and Jinnah meant the parting of Muslim League and the Indian National Congress. The cat and cub eyed each other savagely. And they swooped to tear each other in the communal bonfire. One Chauri-Chaura gave birth to many Chauri-Chauras.

In the historic struggle between Dass and Gandhi,

Jinnah took up arms in favour of Dass, although he spoke from an independent platform. He had now ceased to bow his head to the Congress flag. The gulf was now so wide between Jinnah and Gandhi that there was no question of building a bridge over it. "The Indian National Congress and the Khilafat Conference," said Jinnah, "are at the present moment engaged in Special Sessions at Delhi and shortly their decision will be betore the country; but whether their decision is for Councilentry or against, I for one, am more than ever convinced that the proper course for us is to send our representatives to the Assembly." Therefore, Mr. Jinnah sought election, and he issued his election manifesto. He assured his electorates that he wold endeavour to the best of his ability to serve the cause of the people. "The popular cause and the welfare of India," he said, "will be my keynote and the guiding principle in the future as, I hope, it has been in the past." He had no desire to seek any post or position or title from the Government. The Congress having compromised with the Swarajists, the Swarajists put up a candidate against Mr. Jinnah. Popular opinion was in favour of Jinnah.

The *Bombay Chronicle* took up arms on behalf of Mr. Mohammad Ali Jinnah. The duty of the Muslim voters, it said, was clear. They should give their entire support to Mr. Mohammad Ali Jinnah. If he did not belong to any party, he was nevertheless the most devoted servant of the country. If he had not been in the thick of the fight, he had served the cause by his patriotic reticence. His past record was brilliant. His patriotism was sterling. No favour could buy his rare independence. No frown could diminish his uncompromising fighting spirit. He was worthier than any living citizen of Bombay. Consequently, the Muslim voters of Bombay should honour themselves by returning him at the head of the poll. "If Mr. Jinnah," said the *Bombay Chronicle*, "is not to-day a Congressman, he

has not, like many others betrayed the cause of his country or exploited his disagreement with the Congress for purposes of personal aggrandisement. He remains, therefore, as true a servant of the country as any Congressman and it would be a lasting shame if a leader like him were to be deprived of the opportunity of serving his country by carrying on a fight in an atmosphere admirably suited to his temerament and training, merely on petty party considerations." Forthwith it was acknowledeg by the Congress Leaders that there was no use opposing Jinnah. Hence the two rival candidates withdrew their names, and Mr. Jinnah was returned unopposed on November 14, 1923. The Kenya problem had plagued the country and Mr. Jinnah was asked to issue a statement by the *Bombay Chronicle* which had successfully taken up cudgels on his behalf during the election campaign. "My personal view is," said Jinnah, "that India and Indians wherever they may be, will not command any respect so long as India remains a dependency of Great Britain." The Kenya problem brought vividly home to us that we were a subject race. It is not possible for India to establish equality of status claiming a share in the Government and administration of other parts of the Commonwealth on an equal footing with the white races. So long as India is a subject country, we are bound to suffer from a deep sense of inferiority complex. "I do not believe," said Jinnah, "that India has got the slightest chance of ever realizing the 'citizenship of the Empire of the British Commonwealth, no matter how often the British Government may make declarations of their desire to treat them so and no matter what pledges they may give them from time to time, until India in the first instance becomes the mistress of her own house." How remarkably true is the principle underlying this magnificent statement.

Mr. Jinnah was elected President of the All-India

Muslim League which decided to hold a session at Lahore. The news gave rise to bitter criticism. But the Muslim League was amply justified in its attitude. The Khilafat Movement had given place to Hindu-Muslim riots. Hence, there was a very strong demand for a central organization among the Muslims. Punjab was the main scene of bitter acrimony. Hence Lahore was considered the most suitable venue. "The object of holding the session is to concentrate the united Muslim opinion," said Mr. Jinnah. A great deal of misunderstanding had been created between the Hindus and Muslims in the Punjab. It was essential to bring about a friendly understanding. Mr. Jinnah wanted "to bring about, in due course, through and by means of the All-India Muslim League organization once more a complete settlement between the Hindus and Muslims as was done at Lucknow in 1916." Mr. Jinnah did not want the Muslim League to be antagonistic to the Indian National Congress.

Mr. Jinnah wanted to make the League a living, breathing organization once again. "It is then alone," he said, "that leaders will be able to speak with authority and be in a position to bring about a complete settlement which will be acceptable to the Mussalman public." Also the Muslim opinion desired that the Government of India Act should be overhauled. A responsible Government should be established in India. The Legislative Assembly should be able to claim the proud position of a representative body approaching a parliament of the peoples of India without delay "which can only be done by amending the Government of India Act, 1919, and not merely by discovering defects and rectifying the working of the reforms and only advancing within the rule-making power of the Act as it is proposed at present by the Government of India."

Mr. Jinnah has all along been a very close student of

the Hindu-Muslim problem in India. "Hindu-Muslim unity," he said, "in my opinion is a question entirely within the range of practical politics." It would be brought about as it was done at Lucknow. The opponents of Unity rely on Hindu-Muslim differences. They would soon be disappointed. Efforts would have to be made on both sides, because great mischief had crept in on account of the Khilafat Movement. The Lahore Session met on May 25,1924. The presidential address of Mr. Jinnah is a reasoned analysis of current affairs. "The advent of foreign rule," he said, and its continuance in India is primarily due to the fact that the people of India, particularly the Hindus and the Muslims are not united, and do not sufficiently trust each other. The domination by the bureaucracy will continue so long as the Hindus and the Muslims do not come to a settlement. I am almost inclined to say that India will get Dominion Responsible Government the day the Hindus and the Muslims are united. Swaraj is almost an interchangeable term with Hindu-Muslim Unity." Education is an essential preliminary to any lasting union of the two communities. Mr. Jinnah declared that primary education should be made compulsory, while the leaders concentrate on national planning in social, Political, educational and economic spheres of life. Then alone can we dream of complete independence " One foot up and one foot down" is not the way to Swaraj.

The Muslim League, under Mr. Jinnah, lost no time in appointing a committee "to frame a scheme of constitution of the Government of India in consultation with the committee or committees that may be appoined by other political organizations in the country." Thus the Muslim League was actually stealing a march upon the Congress. The appeal of Jinnah for a united front was echoed in the remotest corners of the country. " I agree with Mr. Jinnah," wrote Mr. Gandhi, "that

Hindu-Muslim unity means Swaraj. I see no way of achieving anything in this afflicted country without a lasting heart unity between the Hindus and Mussalmans of India." While Mr. Jinnah is prepared to labour hard in order to iron out the wrinkles of communalism, Mr. Gandhi believes in the " immediate possibility" of achieving it, because it is " so natural, so necessary for both, and because he believes in " human nature." This day-dreaming of Mr. Gandhi is the real tragedy of India. It throws him into a grotesque contrast with the realism of Mr. Jinnah. Has it ever occurred to Mr. Gandhi that unity which he regarded "so natural, so necessary ,, in 1924 was not achieved even in 1944 ? On the contrary it has been ever receding into the distant horizon.

While the Swarajists were busy "wrecking the constitution," and the Gandhites wese spinning the Lady of Shallott's web with magnificent pictures of the Kingdom Come, the Leaguers were handling the most difficult question of Hindu-Muslim unity. Mr.Jinnah was making an earnest attempt to achieve this coveted settlement. It was necessary that a congress of Hindu-Muslim leaders should deliver the goods. Unless the feelings of distrust were removed, there could not be any political unity in the country. The communal question was not confined to the educated classes. It had already filtered down to the masses. And consequently immediate action was the best statesmanship of the day. The question could not be shelved as Mr. Gandhi was pleased to do. The educated classes alone could cool and compose the differences. This could be done through organization. The Hindus were verv ably organized. Among the Muslims organization was conspicuous by its absence. The Muslim League was a weak body. The Khilafat Committee was drifting to matters outside India. It was not concerned with the domestic solidarity of the Muslim masses. On the other hand, the-

Congress, the Swarajist Party, the Liberal Party, and the Hindu Sabha were very well-knit. Consequently, Mr. Jinnah urged the organization of a well-knit Muslim party that could sit at a Round Table Conference with their Hindu brethren. Then alone could the puzzling problems be solved once for all.

This function could be shouldered only by the Muslim League. It alone was competent to perform the paramount duty. The Hindu-Muslim differences must be composed. The League and the Congress could compose them. The only ambition of Mr. Jinnah was to see happy relations between the two communities. The passionate eloquence of C. R. Das backed up the policy of Mr. Jinnah. A Unity Conference was called at Delhi. It was held under the shadow of Mr. Gandhi's fast. And it was presided over by Maulana Mohamed Ali. The meeting was well-attended. An honest effort was made. A fruitful approach was sought. A formula was devised for promoting unity. It was of the usual hackneyed type. There was to be the abolition of cow-sacrifice and music before-the-mosque propaganda. Neither Mr. Jinnah nor Mr. Jawaharlal Nehru showed much enthusiasm about it. Such things cannot be done away with by political formulas. Mass education can alone accomplish these minor reforms. The mind of Mr. Jinnah was fixed on major problems, but unluckily he was getting no support from the Congress quarters.

While Mr. Gandhi had staked his all on the Khilafat Agitation, Mustafa Kamal Pasha abolished the Khilafat altogether. Mr. Jinnah had done well to steer clear of the Khilafat. Mustafa Kamal confirmed the sanity of his statesmanship. On the other hand, it was the bitterest verdict on the politics of Mr. Gandhi who made a good capital of self-glorification out of the religious weakness of the ignorant Muslim masses. The action of Mustafa Kamal created a peculiar situa-

tion in India. Mr. Gandhi had seen a ghost and led the Muslims into a bloody combat with the British. Prudent Muslims at once deserted him and for ever. The Khilafat Committees liquidated themselves.

Mr. Jinnah worked in the spirit of honest co-operation. He was extremely vigorous in his demand of self-govornment for India. He stressed that political progress must be accelerated. Mr. Jinnah demanded in vigorous terms the appointment of a Royal Commission. His aim was not to shackle the Government in the Legislature, if a spirit of cheerful co-operation was exhibited, so said the Viceroy, and that he was prepared to be helpful if grave and glaring defects disclosed themselves.

"In fact the door was never closed," said Lord Birkenhead. "It is, on the contrary open today."

"I do not see the door open at all," said Mr. Jinnah, "As far as I can see it is almost shut, nay, banged."

Mr. Jinnah received the rudest shock when Motilal Nehru and Madan Mohan Malaviya opposed the Frontier Reforms. These leaders of remarkable record of public service surprised everybody with their out-of-the-way attitude. Mr. Jinnah appealed to them for better sense. This unfortunate debate is a sad page in the political history of India. The Hindu leaders should not have grudged the Muslim masses a mere vestige of political progress. Mr. Jinnah, however, was not the man to lose heart. He was undaunted by this lapse of a nationalism. He believed in the communal unity, and he was prepared to labour for it.

The next session of the League was held in Delhi. Mr. Jinnah once again moved the resolution on the revision of the Government of India Act. The Muslim

League defined its position. It demanded a real advance in the future constitution of India. "The speedy attainment of full responsible Government," it said, "is one of the declared objects of the League, and it is now generally felt that the conception of Swaraj should be translated to the realms of practical politics." The British Government must enable the people of India to take a decisive part in the moulding of their own destinies. The enactment of 1919 formed a definite epoch in the history of India. It was a hearld of the glorious time when India would possess full autonomy. It should rank "as an equal with the Dominions and with the United Kingdom itself as a member of the British Commonwealth." The British must secure stability in Government and willing co-operation of the people. A definite advance of a democratic character must be made. The Muslims were not in agreement with any policy of non co-operation with the Government. Nor did they sanction any policy of obstruction. They did not want to make the reforms impossible. The Muslims were ready to work the Reforms for what they were worth. The Muslims were anxious to see their position safeguarded in the future constitution of India. The Lucknow Pact was not made at the request of the Muslims. The initiative had come from the Indian National Congress, and it was the finest temporary solution.

Mr. Mohammad Ali Jinnah was again returned unopposed to the Assembly in November 1926. He became the leader of the Independent Party. There was the possibility of a working settlement between the Swarajists and Independents. Negotiations materialized considerably between Mr. Jinnah and Motilal. Hindu-Muslim unity was the life-long ambition of Mr. Jinnah. Once again he made a desperate bid for that rosy realm. The question of separate electorates was the main obstacle. The Hindus had assumed an unbending

attitude. Jinnah felt helpless. He induced his own community to tone down their demand. That was the only way to create an opening for negotiations. The Muslim leaders examined the knotty problem from all angles. Sind was to become a separate province. Reforms should be introduced in the N.W.F.P. It should be brought up to the level of other provinces. In the Punjab and Bengal the proportion of representation should be in accordance with the population. "Muslims are prepared to accept a joint electorate," the resolution said, "in all Provinces so constituted, and are further willing to make to Hindu minorities in Sind, Baluchistan and the N.-W. Frontier, the same concessions that Hindu majorities in other provinces are prepared to make to Muslim minorities." In the Central Legislature, Muslim representation should not be less than one-third, and that also by a mixed electorate. The entire scheme was a personal triumph for Mr. Jinnah. He had changed the policy of the Muslims overnight. Only the magic wand of Jinnah could accomplish this.

Nationalist India was all admiration for the achievement of Mr. Jinnah. Honours were showered on him in public as well as in private. In spite of his advocacy of the Muslim cause, the patriotism of Mr. Jinnah was unquestionable. The Congress Working Committee welcomed the proposals as an handicraft of supreme satesmanship. The All-India Congress Committee accepted the Muslim formula unanimously. The formula had its grip over issues of great political importance. If this formula were accepted, an approximation of the hearts was bound to follow. It aided a deal towards the clearing of the minds.

The decision of the Congress was not acceptable to the Hindus. Bitter criticism followed. Hindus were all up in arms. The formula was declared to be hostile to the interests of India. Mr. Jinnah did his best to

counteract the pernicious propaganda. The Muslim leaders' offer was not appreciated either by the Muslims or by the Hindus. And Mr. Jinnah had to drudge hard to carry out a mental-cleaning among the public. The press was particularly hostile. And Mr. Jinnah cleared the cobwebs of mutual suspicion. "I may point out." he said, " that in this offer, which is far-reaching, the most notable feature is its recognition that separate electorates can only be got rid of by a thorough adoption of the system of give-and-take. I trust that it will be criticized in a spirit of toleration. The question of separate electorates or mixed electorates is after all a method and a means to an end. The end in view is that Musalmans should be made to feel that they are secured and safeguarded against any act of oppression on the part of the majority.

Mr. Jinnah declared that personally he was not wedded to separate electorates. It is the overwhelming majority of the Muslims who firmly believed that separate electorates are the best methods of safeguarding their future. It has many advantages and disadvantages. " Yet I am not prepared to subscribe to the view," said Jinnah, "that separate electorates will constitute an effective bar to the growth and development of a representative Government." He could not bring himself to believe that a system of mixed electorates will create complete nationalism the next day. The system was a means to an end. Hence the system itself was an inert thing. It could not guarantee anything to anybody. If the formula were accepted, there would be time to iron out other differences. "1 may in conclusion say" said Mr. Jinnah, "that no time should be lost in bringing about a speedy settlement at this critical juncture." He had roseate hopes of bringing the Hindus and Muslims on to a common platform. Certain important factors in the atmosphere of the country were not helpful. And the cause suffered a serious set-book.

Mr. Jinnah, however, persevered in his policy of gradual reform. He mised no opportunity to impress it upon the Government. He desired that Indians should be more closely associated with the day-to-day administration. "I am aware," he said," that a certain clique exists in England. The India Office is surrounded by it." This clique is responsible for poisoning the minds of young men who come out to rule in the country. "I say to the better-minded Europeans who are in this country," said Jinnah, " and to the better-mind of Englishmen in Great Britain, if this is your message from your youth, they are not willing to co-operate, if they are not willing to work and take their rank according to their merits in this country, tear up the Declaration of August 1917, tear it up now and here, and say to the people of India, we are here to rule and nothing else."

Then there followed the Simon Commission. India has never known a more complete boycott of the official move. The whole of India stood to a man in protest. India demonstrated the collective disapproval of the people. " Simon, Go back !" was greeted to the Commission evrywhere. Once again communal harmony seemed within reach. This was a hearty dose of encour agement for Mr. Jinnah. Dr. M.A: Ansari, the brilliant Muslim stalwart, was President of the Indian National Congress: His chairmanship was a hopeful sign on the Congress horizon. Mr. Jinnah had only to pick up the threads of his endeavours. At once he contacted the leaders of importance. Their views were elicited. An All-Parties' Confernce was called in February, 1928. Jinnah wielded a magnetic influence among the Muslims He hastened to play his rightful role. The Muslim masses, however, were prejudiced by his formula. They were not prepared to become the bond-slaves of the Hindu majority. The leaders had done a deal to poison the minds of the Muslim community. Nevertheless, the

Muslims lent the Hindus their full co-operation in boycotting the Simon Commission. The whole political situation was discussed in the All-Parties' Conference. It created the Nehru Committee, headed by Pandit Motilal Nehru, in opposition to Sir Simon leading the Simon Commission. As the Simon Commission bore the Simon report the Nehru Committee gave birth to the Nehru Report.

The Nehru Committee had a stupendous task to carry out. It considered the Muslim case but arrived at certain conclusions in utter disregard of the Muslim sentiments. Some of the recommendations gave rise to bitter controversies. The Council of the Bombay Provincial Muslim League was the first to reject the recommendations of the Nehru Committee. Jinnah did not commit himself to anything till the meeting of the Central Council of the Muslim League. The latter met at Calcutta and was a compound of warring elements. By dint of his remarkable talent of advocacy, Mr. Jinnah was able to form a strong committee to represent the Muslim point of view. A National Convention was formed in which Mr Jinnah headed the Muslim delegation. " The first point'" said Jinnah, " that I want to place before you is a point with regard to our proposal that there should be no less than one-third Muslim representation in the Central Legislature, We propose that one-third of the elected members of the Central Legislature should be Mussalmans, and that the seats should be reserved for them to that extent in the joint elecorates of the country.'!

Mr. Jinnah tried hard to release the Muslim mind from the thraldom of Hinduism. He shepherded the disunited Muslims back into the fold of Islam. He wanted the Muslims to march with Hindus as true followers of Islam, and not merely as Hinduized Muslims. He is responsible for the revival of Islam in India. " What

we want is," he said, "that Hindus and Muslims should march together until our object is achieved. Therefore, it is essential that you must get along not only with the Muslim League but the Mussalmans of India and here I am not speaking as a Mussalman but as an Indian."

The year 1929 was as busy as a bee. It was a political bee busy in making a politcal beehive. The Indian States Committee presented its report in April. The Simon Commission also concluded its work in the same month. The Labour Party won the General Elections in May and Mr. Ramsay MacDonald became the first Labour Prime Minister of England. On June 19, Mr. Jinnah addressed a letter to Mr. MacDonald. "India has lost her faith in the word of Great Britain," said Mr. Jinnah. "The first and foremost thing that I would ask you to consider is how best to restore that faith and revive the confidence of India in the ' bona fides' of Great Britain. ,,

Mr. Jinnah did not wait for the reply. The game of wait-and-see has never been the creed of his staesmanship, At once he busied himself with constructive legislation. He put his shoulder to the wheels of the Child Marriage Bill. He opposed Hunger Strikers' Bill. The proceedings of the Lahore Congress were a great shock to Mr. Jinnah, because they exceeded the limits of sobriety. The First Round Table Conference met on November 12, 1930. Mr. Jinnah played a brilliant role in the proceedings of the Conference. He succeeded in uniting the various groups of Muslims under the Muslim League. The Nationalist Muslims separated themselves for good. They became the camp-followers of Mahatma Gandhi. Thus the atmosphere was considerably clarified. The Poet Iqbal doubted whether the Minorities Sub-Committee of the Round Table Conference would reach any settlement on the basis of the Delhi resolution. " If these demands are not agreed

to," he said, "a question of very great and far-reaching importance will arise for the community. Then will arrive the moment for independent and concerted political action by the Muslims of India." This poetic prophecy proved perfectly prophetic.

The Round Table Conference recognised the principle regarding the Hindu-Muslim question. The Government of India decided to release Mr. Gandhi and the members of the Congress Working Committee in order to create a helpful atmosphere. Mr. Mohammad Ali Jinnah had decided not to return to India. He had made up his mind to practise his profession in the Privy Council in England. He hoped to enter Parliament, like Dadabhai Naoroji. He wanted to "fight India's battle in England." The Muslims of India had become more active than ever. The Muslim League could stand on its own feet. The Cub could face the Cat. And there was no further need for spoon-feeding. So Jinnah felt free. As a true citizen of India, he did not want to burn his fingers in the communal fire that was raging furiously across the plains of Hindustan. On the eve of the Second Round Table Conference, Mr. Winston Churchill criticized Mr. Gandhi severely. He could not see "an Inner Temple lawyer, now a seditious fakir, striding half-naked up the steps of the Viceregal Palace to parley on equal terms with the representatives of the King-Emperor." Half-heartedly Mr. Gandhi did go to England. He came back heart-broken.

After the Round Table Conference, Mr. Mohammad Ali Jinnah stayed in England as a practising lawyer. He came back to India in April 1934. During this time the country had passed through many evolutions. Movements were launched by the Congress. And the Congress moves were successfully crushed by the Government. An attempt was made to bring about a greater unity among the ranks of the Muslim masses:

The attempt was "crushed" by the Congress. Hence the Muslim League was a house divided against itself. Hence it was split into two rival sections. The Congress "Cat" was pouncing upon the League "Lion" in the shadow of the Muslim Conference.

Besides, "there was a sudden epidemic of deaths among eminent leaders of all-India stature," says Mr. M. R. Duggal, the author of the *Mufti-i-Azam of Malabar Hill*. With the exception of Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, all Muslim stalwarts of the calibre of Hakim Ajmal Khan, Maulana Mohammad Ali, Dr. Ansari, Sir Mohammad Shafi, Sir Fazal Hussain and Dr. Iqbal died one after the other."

The Lion grew so lank and lean that it stood in danger of being gnawed by the Cat. So Jinnah hastened from England to save the League Lion from complete extinction in the teeth of the Congress Cat.

Cows and Music

> "The same year (1893) he (Tilak) founded the Anti-Cow Killing Society, and demanded, at a meeting of the Saravajanic Sabha from the Government, the lifting of the ban on playing of Music by Hindu processions in front of mosques.
>
> —*M. H. Saiyid.*

THE difference between cows and music is the gulf between Pakistan and Hindustan. The Hindus want that the cows should not be killed and the Hindus want that they should be allowed to play music even before the mosques. Cow is a goddess for the Hindus and music is a food for the goddesses, and hence they must have both, if Hinduism is to survive in Hindustan. Cow is very quintessence of Islam—and in fact of all *true* religions.

All the differences are resolved to this. For Hindus music is food for the soul. For Muslims food for the soul is tranquillity in the mosque. For Hindus milk *alone* is a food for the body. For Muslims milk as well as meat is a food for the body. Thus the good Hindus have decided that if the Muslims want their souls to flourish, they must starve their bodies. As to the Hindus themselves they are prepared to starve their souls so that thier bodies might flourish—on the milk of the Muslim cows, of course! Muslim self-starvation

gratifies the Hindu stomach. And that has been a gentleman's agreement from times immemorial. The Muslims have starved themselves for centuries so that their Hindu brethren might have their daily dose of milk. When the Muslims don't take beef, they become as timid as the Hindus. It is to the benefit of the Hindus that the Muslim should give up beef, all meat if possible, and become downright vegetarians like themselves. Thus the Hindus have exploited the Muslims, and spared no pains to Hinduize them, by appealing to their sense of compromise, and acquiring their sympathy through the creed of cow-protection.

And even to that the Muslims have submitted patiently year in and year out. But the Hindu process of enslaving the conquerors by slow and steady degrees does not end at the cows and calves. The Hindus have got a cobweb of castes, customs, creeds and polytheistic faiths into which every invader before Islam has been tempted and trapped, caught and killed, until his very name disappeared through the length and breadth of Hindustan. Islam alone survived this absorptive process of Hinduism. Islam survived because it was armed with a stronger culture than Hinduism.

Islam has survived the traditional traps of Hinduism. But it has not escaped the "fifth column" invasions of Hinduism. And it has not come out with a whole skin. The clash of cultures is going on even today between Hindus and Muslims. And this clash of cultures is responsible for the unbridgeable gulf between Hindustan and Pakistan. We have learnt in the last chapter how Muslim League panted hard to protect the inner citadel of Islam from the cultural arrows of Hinduism darted by the Indian National Congress into Islamic hearths and homes. Sir Syed Ahmed, defending Islam with courage and conviction, fought hard against the rising tide of Hindus in the political horizon

of India. Mr. Mohammad Ali Jinnah tried his level best of arrive at a compromise with the Hindu community. He left no stone unturned to forge a united front between Hindus and Muslims. For this goal he strove for thirty years. It was not till after the Round Table Conference that he reeled back like a wounded lion.

Mr. Mohammad Ali Jinnah and other Muslim leaders, and even some Hindu politicians, came to the conclusion that there was no better solution possible than a water-tight partition between the Cow and the Quietude. There will be full-fledged protection for the cows if the Muslim majority provinces were chopped off from the remainder biscuit of India. Then the Hindus might have their cows and music without interruption from the children of Islam. And the children of Islam might sit down peacefully to feast upon a chop of beef without being disturbed by the ding-dong bells from Hindu temples. This is a workable agreement between the followers of the two faiths. It isn't a mere dream.

Maulana Hasrat Mohani was the first leader who thought of this Inevitable partition. And Mohani was a Congressite rather than a Muslim Leaguer. Thus the plan originated from the Nationalist Muslims and it had all the blessings of the Indian National Congress. Maulana Mohani refused to take part in communal controversies. Instead he drew up a geographical scheme for settlement. He envisaged a system of separate Muslim and Hindu States. He decided to pencil out a political line between the cow-protectors and beef-eaters. In the adventure the Maulana was firmly backed by Lala Lajpat Rai, the Congress stalwart. Separate representation formed the central pivot of the Muslim League policy. Consequently, there was no other hope for a lasting settlement. Lala Lajpat Rai

wrote a series of articles and launched a political move with a whole heart.

"Maulana Hasrat Mohani," said Lalaji, "has recently said that the Muslims will never agree to India's having Dominion Status under the British. What they aim at are separate Muslim States in India united with Hindu States under National Federal Government. He is also in favour of smaller states containing compact Hindu and Muslim populations. If communal representation with separate electorates is to be the rule, then Maulana Hasrat's scheme as to smallar province seems to be the only workable proposition. Under my scheme the Muslims will have four Muslim States: (1) The Pathan Province or the North-West Frontier; (2) Western Punjab; (3) Sind; and (4) Eastern Bengal. If there are compact Muslim communities in any other part of India, sufficiently large to form a province, they should be similarly constituted. But is should be distinctly understood that this is not a united India. It means a clear partition of India into a Muslim India and a Non-Muslim India."

It was Lala Lajpat Rai who moulded the Congress attitude towards separatism. He warned the Hindus that if the Muslims were given a free hand in India, things will not go according to the wishes of the Hindus. There would be no protection for the cow in the company of beef eaters. And if the "Milk" and the "Music" cannot live together, it is natural that they should part. This approach to the communal problem is practical. There is no halo of a theory about it. Lalaji had two alternatives at his elbow. Either we should not divide the people into communities and therefore unite India. If the people can be united through communal representation, then let us divide India. While Maulana Mohani insisted on a single Federation of the Hindu and Muslim States, Lala Lajpat

Rai went further. He may will be regarded as the herald of the Partition of India. Thus a Congressite has sown the harvest which the Congressites are reaping today. Partition of India is a shadow of cows-and-music diplomacy.

While Lala Lajpat Rai told the Muslim League to hold the Indian calf by the tail, he brought forth the ghost of Hindu Mahasabha to hold the sacred animal by the neck. The father of partition is also the mother of communalism among Hindus. ,'I am very strongly opposed to denominational political organizations," said Lalaji. "In my judgment they are harmful to the political evolution of the country on national lines. But if the Hindu Muslim problem is to be solved on denominational lines, I can see no justification for the view that while the Muslims should be represented by the Muslim League and the Khilafat Committee, the Hindu point of view should be left to be expressed by the Congress." Thus the monkey who brought cheese for the cat also brought another cat for the cheese so that there might be a balance of power to the satisfaction of the monkey. We have no doubt that the Indian National Congress was playing that part between the Muslim League and the Hindu Mahasabha for dividing the Christmas cake of India on the imperial tables.

The movement for partition gained ground among the Muslims. It was left to the sharp imagination of a Muslim student to find a name. Chaudhri Rahmat Ali was a student in London. No wonder, his mind was fired by the prospects of a Muslim State. He started working on these lines. One fine sunny morning he was taking a ride in one of the omnibuses of London. Suddenly a wave of inspiration swept across his mind. He conceived a suitable name for the free Muslim State in the North-West of India. Lala Lajpat Rai had gone a step farther than Maulana Mohani. Chaudhri

Rahmat Ali went a step farther than Lala Lajpat Rai. He included Kashmir in the Free Muslim State, because Kashmir is predominantly Muslim in population.

His imagination worked out the following formula ;

"P" means Punjab

"A" stands for Afghan territory (North-West Frontier Province).

"K" signifies Kashmir.

"S" denotes Sind.

"TAN" is the suffix of Baluchistan which is also entirely Muslim.

This was the unique birth of Pakistan in the mind of a solitary student. "What's in a name?" said Shakespeare. Shakespeare was wrong. There is everything in a name. "Pakistan" soon became a word of magic. It fired the imagination of the millions of Muslims all over the country. Pakistan was born only when its name was born. Previous to that it was only a philosophical idea. Now it became a living voice coming out of a million throats. It became the irresistible Muslim demand. And the credit goes to a young student. There is no use saying that by any other name the rose of Pakistan would smell as sweet. I wonder if it would smell at all.

Mr. Jinnah still believed in unity in spite of the partitioning tendencies. And he worked for that unity. "If I can achieve this unity," he declared in February,

1935, "believe me, half the battle of the country's freedom is won . . . So long as Hindus and Musilms are not united, let me tell you, there is no hope for India and we shall both remain slaves foreign domination." He lost all faith in the proceedings of the Legislative Assembly. He was getting disgusted with victories won against the government. He became sure that Parliament was not going to honour the resolutions passed by the Indian Legislators. Indian Legislature is a mere side-show and it is not going to exercise the slightest influence on His Majesty's Government. Consequently, Mr. Jinnah turned to Hindus rather than to the British for safeguarding the Muslim interests. He wanted the Congress to assure the followers of Islam that "it is not going to be a Hindu Government, but an Indian Government in which the Muslims will not only have a fair and just treatment but also that they will be treated as the equal of the Hindus."

The Muslims were ready to co-operate with the Hindus, if the Hindus were equally ready to co-operate with the Muslims. The Muslims must not be forced to swerve from the path of Islamic culture. If the Hindus wanted to protect the cows, they were welcome to them, so long as they did not tyrannize over the Muslim owners of the cattle. What was a culture for the Hindus was no culture for the followers of Islam. Hence there was a great necessity for "a fair and just treatment" but even a greater essential for an equality of footing between the Hindus and the Muslims.

The unrivalled Muslim leader was still warmly admired in the Hindu circle for his abiding love of patriotism. His political sagacity was fascinating. Mr. Jinnah was an advocate of logic and reason. He was

a champion of practical politics. The Muslim leaders felt shy of him. The Hindu leaders avoided him. A map of independent views is at once an idol and an eye-sore. He is an idol when the parties divide. He is an eye-sore when the factions agree to differ. Mr. Jinnah had the honour of both admiration and infliction as it suited the Hindus and the Muslims.

It was during the Communal Award debate that the attitude of the League Leader became distinctly defined. His advocacy of the Communal Award alarmed the Hindus. His successful piloting of the resolution on the Communal Award threw all the cows of New Delhi into consternation. It became evident that the beloved son of Islam was no longer in a mood to lend an ear to the Hindu music before the portals of the Muslim mosque. Now the Muslim realized that he was not likely to be influenced by his Hindu attachments. And so the Muslim masses clung to him closer. Nor were the British bosses satisfied with political idol-breaker. He had criticised the Government of India Act in the keenest phrases. Overnight he became a source of dread to non-Muslim elements. But it did help to knit the Muslim politicians together into one band.

When the India Bill became the India Act, Mr. Jinnah declared : "The new Constitution has been forced upon us. It is now the duty of the various leaders to put their heads together and chalk out a definite and common policy with regard to the Constitution." But nobody listened to him. The stolid and stunned thick-skinned cow went her way, grazing grass in the British-owned pastures of Hindustan. The Congress kept up a policy of indifference and neutrality. It was too much for the nerves of the League Lion.

In 1936 the "Lion" lashed himself into supreme

activity. It censured and supported the Government in accordance with a patent political prescription. The League Lion insisted upon a complete orientation of the divide and-rule policy maintained by the British Tiger in the Indian Zoo. But the Cow was too foxy for the wits of the tiger as well as the lion. Mr. Jinnah however, maintained a steady calm. No wonder, he was still hailed as the glorious ambassador of Hindu-Muslim unity. The Hindu press—the sweet lowing of a cow—showered a music of praises on Mohammad Ali Jinnah.

At this time Mr. Jinnah found himself face to face with a communal earthquake. Those were the days of Shahidganj Agitation in the Punjab. The Sikhs were no easy stuff to be kneaded by the League Leader. In the opinion of Jinnah, it was an unfortunate affair. It led to a considerable loss of Muslim energy which could have been utilized against John Bull. Mr. Jinnah hastened to Lahore and laboured hard to bring about some sort of understanding. The Sikhs were adamant in claiming a piece of land which may now be regarded as the burial ground of Hindu-Muslim unity which, always in the view before Shahidganj Agitation, has now left the grasp for ever. The best that Mr. Jinnah could do was to restore a peaceful atmosphere in the rank and file of the Muslim masses in the most trying circumstances. To that extent were his efforts crowned with success.

"While we are not going to give up our claim for Shahidganj," said Mohammad Ali Jinnah, "we are going to make every effort for an honourable understanding with the sister community. We shall seek all remedies by means of constituted and peaceful methods and there are many avenues and channels open to us. There is no question of defiance to or intimidation of the sister community. They fought against us and we

fought against them in the past, but the Sikhs are a great community, and nothing will please me more than an honourable settlement with them, and we shall spare no pains for that."

Over and above the unpleasant episode of Shahidganj, there were other problems to be solved, other difficulties to be tackled, other political forces to be grappled with. The question of contesting the elections under the new Act hung in the balance. At last the Congress decided to spin for votes, even though the Congress opinion was hostile to the Communal Award. The Muslim League was a target of slashing propaganda from the Hindu press. The "Cow" in a moment of craziness began to knock its head against the walls of the mosque. But it produced no music of communal harmony. The cow harmed nobody except itself. The Muslim League was ready more than ever to join hands with the Congress in the struggle for freedom. "The eighty million Muslims of India," declared Jinnah "are willing and even more anxious than any other community to fight for the freedom of the Mother India, hand in hand, with other communities."

The Government had foisted the India Act of 1935 against the will of all the parties. The Hindu-Muslim quarrels had placed the country at the heels of John Bull who could milk the cow as much as he liked, because the "Cat" and the "Lion" were not united. They were not united, because they had failed to settle their domestic quarrels. The Muslims were ready to march along with the Hindus in the march for freedom. "Are we going to move on," said Jinnah, "and apply our minds to larger questions affecting India? Close the controversy over the Communal Award for the time being, and, God willing, we would produce a better settlement. No Constitution is permanent," he said. Mr. Jinnah wanted to cremate the cow of Communal Award, while the band of unity was playing,

and shake its ashes into the Ganges. "Constitutions," said Jinnah, "are made by men, but men are not made by Constitutions."

In June 1936, the Muslim League called the first meeting of the Parliamentary Board at Lahore. It was presided over by Mr. Jinnah. It outlined a definite policy and programme. A lengthy statement was issued. Then Mr. Jinnah supervised the work of the Board. His work in the provincial field was fraught with serious obstacles. Mr. Jinnah promoted an atmosphere of co-operation in the Muslim ranks. Elections were contested coolly and calmly. The League achieved comparatively a bewildering success. Although it did not sweep the polls anywhere, it held a position of vantage everywhere. It became a party to be counted with, and not merely a philosophical association as it had been hitherto. The Muslim League could not dictate terms to the Congress, but at the same time the "Lion" would not go down on its knees before the "Cat" in order to beg a chop of beef and a cup of cow's milk. The "Lion" had enough of energy left to hunt for himself in the political forests of Hindustan.

It was the Congress "Cat" that won all the feathers of victory in the elections. It assumed airs of superiority and snatched verbal concessions from the British Tiger before stepping into the ministerial shoes with home-spun Gandhi caps, and the Congress flag waving above the secretariat buildings. In these circumstances of pomp and power, surrounded by cows and music, the Congress Cat tried to ignore the League Lion. But the Lion was not asleep.

The Congress wanted to ignore the Muslim League, because the League had advocated the Communal Award which was opposed by the Congress. The Communal Award was the apple of discord between the

Cat and the Lion. The Cat having taken possession of the apple, by hook or by crock, showed teeth to the Lion. The Lion having been starved for want of healthy beef and deafend by the ding-dong din of temple bells, was not in a position to resist the Auntie Cat.

In a supreme moment of triumph Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru declared that only two parties mattered in India—the Congress and the British. He wanted all other parties to line up with the Congress. The Congress alone could make or mar the Constitution. It was a threat to the British. Also it was a reproach to the League. It was not expected from such a personality as Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru to flout the Muslim electorates that had backed up the Muslim League. Mr. Jinnah could not permit such a sweeping statement to go unchallenged "There is a third party," said Mr. Jinnah, "namely the Mussalmans. We are not going to be dictated to by anybody. We are willing to co-operate with any group of a progressive and independent character, provided its programme and policy correspond to our own. We are not going to be camp-followers of any party. We are ready to work as equal partners for the welfare of India."

The Congress assumed power. The Muslim League lagged behind in the political theatre. Efforts were made to pale it into insignificance. The Indian National Congress was in the saddle everywhere. The Lucknow Session of the Muslim League was held in October 1937. It was a magnificent success. "I want the Mussalmans," said Jinnah, "to ponder over the situation and decide their own fate by having one single, definite, uniform policy which should be loyally followed throughout India. The Congressite Mussalmans are making a great mistake when they preach unconditional surrender. It is the height of defeatist mentality to throw ourselves on the mercy and goodwill of others and the

highest act of perfidy to the Mussalman community; and if that policy is adopted, let me tell you, the community will seal its doom and will cease to play its rightful part in the national life to the country and the Government. Only one thing can save the Mussalmans and energise them to regain their lost ground. They must recapture their own souls and stand by their lofty position and principles which form the basis of their great unity and which bind them in one body-politic."

The European horizon was overcast with war clouds in the autumn of 1939. The idea of separate nationhood was gaining popularity among the Muslim masses. Once for all, the children of Islam were anxious to get rid of the beef-haters and music-lovers. Mr. Mohammad Ali Jinnah had come to be known as Qaid-e-Azam because of his fervent advocacy of the Muslim cause. His brilliant leadership brought about a considerable measure of unity among the Muslims. The Muslim League was embarking on a new career. Jinnah emerged as the living symbol of Muslim unity. He became a pivot of the Muslim demand for Pakistan. The Muslim politics centred round him. Mr. Jinnah became an institution by himself. He became the spokesman of the Muslim mind. Muslim opinion was moulded by him. Also it was worked and voiced by him. Single handed he worked a revolution in the Muslim politics. He was the first leader that ever unified the different Muslim factions under a single banner. The Muslim masses reposed their full confidence in Mr. Jinnah. The League platform could not be exploited by others. Although the Lion still stood at bay between the Cow and the Cat, it had no fear of being deceived into death-trap.

The popularity of the Muslim League among the generation of youths and youngsters was the crucial

test of the democratic spirit. And that test it stood magnificently and well. Young boys and girls infused fresh blood into the organization. The Lahore Session of the Muslim League was a turning-point in the history of the League itself. The Lion was coming into its own royal position and did not stand any more at the den of the Cat, begging a cup of cow's milk. The Lion was no longer an invalid, sneaking creature. It was boiling with defiant youthfull overflowing energy. Mr. Jinnah delivered a spirited address : "We had many difficulties to face." he said, "from 1939 right up to the declaration of war. We had to face the Vidya Mandir of Nagpur. We had to face the Wardha Scheme all over India. We had to face the ill-treatment and oppression of Muslims in the Congress-governed Provinces. We had to face the treatment meted out to Muslims in some of the Indian States such as Jaipur and Bhavnagar. We had to face a vital issue that arose in that little state of Rajkot. Rajkot was the acid test made by the Congress which would have affected one-third of India. Thus the Muslim League had all along to face various issues from January 1939 up to the declaration of war." Thus the Cow and the Cat as well as the British Tiger had done their worst to wound and even wipe the League Lion out of existence. But the Lion emerged from the battle of animals—political animals, I mean—stronger than ever. It was able to establish its identity as a separate nation rather than a separate community.

"The Mussalmans are not a minority," said Mr. Jinnah in the Lahore Session held on March 22, 1940. "The Mussalmans are a nation by any definition. The problem in India is not of an intercommunal but manifestly of an international character, and it must be treated as such. So long as this basic and fundamental truth is not realized, any constitution that may be built will result in disaster and will prove destructive

and harmful not only to Mussalman but to the British and Hindus also."

Are the British people really in earnest about India ? If so, they should secure peace and happiness of this sub-continent. "The only course open to us all," says Jinnah, "is to show the major nations separate, homelands by dividing India into autonomous national states." There is no valid reason why should these states be hostile to each other. It will lead towards natural goodwill of international pacts between them. They can live in perfect harmony with their neighbours. The cows need not be killed in Hindustan, nor should music be played before the mosques in Pakistan! Mr. Milk and Mr. Music can easily have a friendly settlement between them. The Hindustan can save its classical cows as well as its romantic music. Pakistan wants neither of them.

"It is extremely difficult to appreciate," said Jinnah, why our Hindu friends fail to understand the real natures of Islam and Hinduism. They are not religious in the strict sense of the word, but are, in fact, quite different and distinct social orders, and it is a dream that the Hindus and Muslims can evolve a common nationality, and this misconception of one Indian nation has gone far beyond the limits and is the cause of most of our troubles and will lead India to destruction if we fail to revise our notions in time. The Hindus and Muslims belong to two different religious philosophies, social customs, literature. They neither intermarry, nor interdine and, indeed, they belong to two different civilizations which are based mainly on conflicting ideas and conceptions. Their aspects on life and of life are different. It is quite clear that Hindus and Mussalmans derive their inspiration from different sources of history. They have different epics, their heroes are different, and different episodes. Very often

the hero of one is a foe of the other and likewise their victories and defeats overlap. To yoke together two such nations under a single state, one as a numerical minority and the other as a majority, must lead to growing-discontent and final destruction of any fabric that may be so built up for the government of such a state."

This is a powerful argument against cows-and-music compromise between Hindus and Muslims. Partition is the permanent solution. And it is the permanent solution that we require in India. Consequently the following resolution was proposed and passed in the Lahore Session :

"Resolved that it is the considered view of the Session of the All-India Muslim League that no constitutional plan would be workable in this country or acceptable to the Muslims unless it is designed on the following basic principle, namely, that geographically contiguous units are demarcated into regions which should be so constituted, with such territorial readjustment as may be necessary, that the areas in which the Muslims are numerically in a majority as in the North-Western and Eastern Zones of India, should be grouped to constitute 'Independent States' in which the constituent units shall be autonomous and sovereign.

"That adequate, effective and mandatory safeguards should be specifically provided in the constitution for minorities in these units and these regions for the protection of their religious, cultural, economic, political, administrative and other rights and interests in consultation with them ; and in other parts of India where the Mussalmans are in a minority adequate, effective and mandatory safeguards shall be specially provided in the constitution for them and other minorities for the protection of their religious, cultural,

economic, political, administrative rights and other interests in consultation with them."

The Muslim League further advised the Working Committee to frame a scheme of constitution in accordance with these basic principles. Mr. Jinnah handled the proceedings in a masterly way. Then he stood up and raised his hand. He bade his audience to be quiet. A pin-drop silence ensued. The League Leader measured his self-confidence before putting the momentous resolution through. Also he measured devotion of his followers. He felt that the Muslims of India reposed an overwhelming confidence in him. It heartened him beyond description. He was armed with courage of conviction and the conviction of his courageous followers. He spoke with a firm faith. He gave the correctest possible lead to his followers--the Inevitable Partition. He told the audience emphatically that hitherto we have been uniting to divide, now we must divide to unite. Partition will unite the Hindus and Muslims. Pakistan will be a pillar of strength to Hindustan. The two communities cannot agree unless they agree to differ. Hence the best interests of India invite a division of this sub-continent.

The Lahore Session was a climax in the history of the League Lion. Hitherto Muslim India was a hazy kingdom. It had no defined goal in view. Muslim politics was breathing out its existence in the mortal grip of interested elements. The collective welfare of the Muslim nation suffered at the hands of propagandist wire-pullers who used the Muslim League for pulling their own chestnuts out of the fire. Iqbal had tried to put a definite goal before his community, but he was not very successful in his attempt, because the Muslim masses lagged behind in political consciousness. But by 1940 the Muslim India had marched considerably forward. The Muslim Nation was showing great

improvement. The Muslim of India wanted *a* Jinnah. And they got *the* Jinnah. He is a man of the moment. He appeared at the most psychological hour. The manifestation of his political genius took the Muslim world by storm. He organized the followers of Islam, and taught them the value of organization. He inculcated among Muslims the supreme necessity of standing one for all and all for one. The British Government forthwith responded to Muslims unity. The Federal Scheme was put in cold storage. It was decided to take the Muslim point into consideration in any future constitution.

The Lahore Resolution had to bear the stock of a most dogged opposition. A regular and organized campaign of misrepresentation was set into motion. And it was worked up to a frantic frenzy. Every tit-bit of Hindu opinion stood up in honest revolt. Hard words were used and all kinds of political labels stuck on the name of the League "Lion." But the Lion shook off dust of the lies and marched forward steadily in the light of day. In spite of its most radical resolution, the League was dubbed a reactionary body. Facts and figures were misquoted rather than quoted. Every kind of political tool, weapon or instrument was used to put the League in the wrong. But the League was in the right. It had, righteousness on its side. Unluckily it was the Congress that went away into the pastures of political wilderness with a herd of Hindu cows and English bells, producing musical tunes round their neck.

The history of India was treated merely as a box of letters by the enemies of Pakistan. Distorted and contorted narrations were put forth. Convex and concave lens were used to study Jinnah and Jinnahites, the League and the Leaguers, Islam and the Muslims. "At any rate," said Jinnah, "the better mind of the Hindus will give earnest and serious consideration to our propo-

sals as therein lies the achievement of India's freedom at the earliest possible period. This freedom we shall be able to retain peacefully both internally and externally." It amazed him to hear of the Lahore Resolution being talked about as a scissor for the vivisection of India. Some Congressites called it as "cutting the baby into two halves."

Mr. Jinnah believes that India is divided by Nature. Mother Nature has partitioned the Mother Cow. "Muslim India and Hindu India," he said, "exist only on the physical map of India. I fail to see why there is this hue and cry. Where is the country which is being divided? Where is the nation which is denationalized?" India is composed of nationalities; India comprises castes and sub-castes. India is without a central national Government. And there is no authority which is being violated. India is held down by the British power. And it is the British hand that gives the impression of unity. Unity proceeds from the governors rather than the governed. The Indian nation and the national government simply do not exist. "It is the only convenient imagination of the Congress High Command," he said. "It is a pure intellectual and mental luxury, in which some of the Hindu leaders have been indulging so recklessly." The issue involves the destiny of the entire Muslim Nation in India. The Mussalmans of India are fully alive to the gravity of the situation. They know the opposition that is facing them from all quarters. Their fight is not to injure any community. Their aim is not to harm any interest. The Muslims don't want to block the progress. They simply want to defend themselves. "We want to live in this country an honourable life," said Jinnah, "as free men, and we stand for free Islam and free India."

Shortly after the Lahore League session the Congress decided to go into wilderness. They resigned their

ministerial offices and started a Civil Disobedience Movement. "I am unable to accept," said Mr. Mohammad Ali Jinnah, "that the Hindus and the Congress are fighting for the independence or freedom of the people of the country. We know why they have launched the Civil Disobedience Movement. The British Government knows why. It is to coerce the British Government to recognise the Congress as the only authoritative and representative organization of the people of India."

The Congressites believed that the Congress alone represented India and the Indian people. Mr Jinnah challenged this cocksure self-confidence. The Congress is not the only spokesman. There is the Muslim League to be heard also The Muslims are not a minority. "The reason why there has not been a settlement between the Hindus and Mussalmans is," said Jinnah, "that the Congress is a Hindu organization whatever they may say—that the Hindu leaders and Congress leaders have had always at the back of their minds the basis that the Mussalmans have to come within the kin of the Congress and the Hindu Raj, that they are a minority, and all that they can justly press for is merely safeguards as a minority . . . The Mussalmans always had at their back the basis—and it has never been different during the last twenty-five years—that they are a separate entity."

Mr. Jinnah has carried out his programme of Muslim unity vigorously. "So far as the Muslim League is concerned," he said, "we are going faster than many people imagine. In our unity, in our solidarity and in our progress in various directions, all that I urge upon you, my young friends and others present here, is that the key is in your hands. Do not depend upon anybody. You know I will not preach aggressiveness. The Muslim League has always been

on the defensive. I have always said it. It is no concession and it is no favour. The Muslim League has no designs on the Hindu Congress, provided the Hindu Congress has no designs on the Muslim League."

The Congress is the most powerful Hindu body. And that position is occupied by the Muslim League among the Mussalmans. "I cannot understand," said Jinnah, "that even to day the Congress leaders have not the honesty and the frankness to recognise that they do not represent the Muslims. Whom are you misleading except yourselves? Whom are you deluding except yourselves ?"

Sir Stafford Cripps recognised the Muslims as a separate nation. He declared in his broadcast that there were as many races in India as in Russia. "Our object," he said, "is to give to the Indian peoples full self-government, with complete freedom as to how they will devise and organize their own constitution." It was for the first time that the British Government recognised the right of the Muslim Nation to separate so that all the cow-and-music problems should be struck at the root instead of being chopped off branch by branch and twig by twig. The powerful Congress press started a powerful propaganda against the British move. Naturally the negotiations broke down. The Muslim League was not satisfied with the vague promises of the British Government. The Congress created a hitch on the Defence portfolio. Consequently both the League and the Congress kicked the proposals to pieces. And Sir Stafford was compelled to put them in his pipe and smoke them.

Professor Coupland passed the following verdict on the attitude of the Muslim League. "The adoption of Pakistan as the League's objective," he said, "has tended to stiffen the political deadlock. It was already

difficult enough for Mr. Jinnah to co-operate with the Government's war effort, unless the Congress did, for it would expose him to the charge—a wholly fake charge, as his record shows—of being a poorer Indian patriot than Pandit Nehru and his colleagues. But there was now another difficulty. To join the existing Central Government, associated as it is with a Central Legislature, both based on the principle of a united India, would prejudice the future of the Muslim cause. It would seem like a facit acceptance of a constitutional system which foreshadowed the imposition, not only on seven provinces, but on India as a whole, of that Hindu majority rule which Pandit Nehru in an unguarded moment had once described as a 'Congress Raj,' a system which flatly negatived Pakistan."

Professor Coupland, as might be expected, supported the Cripps' proposals, and he invited the Muslim League to put it shoulder to the wheel. "They embodied," he said, "the British Government's considered reply to the Muslim claim of Pakistan." They did not encourage the Partition of India "It was unfair to say," he stated, "as Hindu critics promptly said, that they directly encouraged the partition of India. On the contrary, they pointed the only way in which partition can be avoided. The story of the forbidden fruit applies to great affairs of life as much as small. The certain method of whetting a nation's or a community's appetite for something is to say that it is the one thing they may not have. Thus, just as there is small chance of India wanting to stay in the British Commonwealth unless she is free to go out, so the best hope of a single Indian Union is to assure the people of the predominantly Muslim areas that they need not join it unless they wish. As Sir Stafford had said in his broadcast, the door must be left open. And besides this point of principle, there was the practical question. How could the Hindus propose to compel

the Muslims into the Union ? Only, it would seem, by Civil War".

Thus Professor Coupland laid down a vital principle on which the superstructure of India of To-morrow must be built. No wonder he found the politicians of India, Hindus as well as Muslims, in agreement with his deductions. " The reaction of Mr. Jinnah and the Muslim League," he says, " to this part of the scheme was naturally favourable. They can scarcely have expected, indeed, that the British Government would go so far to meet their claim, since for months past they had made no secret of their anxiety lest the Congress demand for the ruling out of Pakistan from all discussion of the future should be satisfied. Nevertheless, when the Congress rejected the Draft Declaration the Muslim Leage followed suit. The League Leader followed the attiude of the Congress President. " But the tone of his rejection," says Profesfor Coupland, " was markedly less hostile than that of the Congress President. Nor did he reject it all along the line. His one serious complaint was that it did not explicitly pronounce in favour of Pakistan."

The Congress committed a great blunder by launching upon do-and-die "Quit India" campaign in August 1932. Once again the Hindu Congress was following the vague course of hollow idealism. The muslim League stood aside and watched. The Congress was using the War as an instrument of wresting power for itself. It refused to recognise the weighty problems that faced the world. And well did the Congress pay its price. Mr. Mohammed Ali Jinnah, on the other hand, set about organizing the forces of Muslim India. He strengthened their positical position and earned their greatest gratitude. He brought home to the British Government the justice of the Muslim demand for Pakistan. Thereby he drove the Congress to a point

of desperation. Therefore, things became satisfactory for Mr. Jinnah while Mr. Gandhi and his followers went into the wilderness.

" Mr. Jinnah," said Mr. Gandhi, " does not seem to believe in the Congress programme and in the Congress demand. But I eannot wait any longer for India's freedom. I cannot wait until Mr. Jinnah is converted for the immediate consummation of Indian freedom."

Mr.·Jinnah with his characteristic reticence did not reply to this libel. He silently watched the Congress moves on the chessboard of India. Mr. Gandhi had discovered " the formula of inviting the British Power to withdraw. Mr. Jinnah watched this formula of cow-and-music manufacture with great curiosity. Mr.Gandhi wanted that the British withdrawal should be "orderly and voiuntary." Thereby he wanted the British to gain " a moral height"—of the stature of Mr. Gandhi himself ! But the British did not listen to the " Inner Voice" of Mr. Gandhi in the deafening din of the Japanese guns. And consequently the entire organization of the Indian National Congress was thrown into utter confussion.

The Muslim League was not slow to reap a harvest of political advantages. Immediately it put itself in a position of power in four Provinces. Thereby it heightened its prestige and gained confidence of the masses. The " Quit India" Movement din not take long to be wiped out of existence. A few British bullets silenced the few acts of madness. The Government arrested the Congress caucus and the enthusiasm of the mob eased away. It is good that the Muslims were not beguiled by the slogans of freedom. Mr. Jinnah was free to pursue his programme. And well did he use the golden opportunity. The League Working Committee collected data of economic conditions as well as funds to consolidate their effective political plank. Mr. Jinnah made an

attempt to unite the Punjab Unionists into the All-India Muslim League, but the endeavour was not successful, because interested people burnt their fingers in the League-Unionists oven and prevented any warm friendship growing between the two. Mr. Jinnah requested the Hindu leaders to " stop this internecine war declare a truce; let us sit as equals and come to a settlement." The invitation of the League Leader went unheeded. And Mr. Jinnah went on with a constructive programme among the Muslim masses.

Mr. Jinnah was not disturbed by the trend of events set in motion by the Congress-British wrangle. While the Congress Cat was railing against the British Tiger the League Lion concentrated its attention on Muslim provinces. Mr Jinnah wanted to assure himself that the Muslim authority will be maintained in Muslim provinces. The League Ministries must act under the League Command and they should be a fountain head of confidence for Muslim masses.

Mr. Jinnah was pained to find that the Hindu press carried on a cow and music propaganda against him. They attributed false meaning to his utterances. False motives were associated with his political actions. The League Leader faced the allegations with coolness and courage. He bore no ill will against any political organizaton or personality. He simply advocated a cause in which he thoroughly believed. Consequently his appeals were directed to the British as well as the Hindus. There are the Hindus who must first accept the principle underlying the Muslim demand. If the Hindus agree, the Muslim› will be forced to do so. Therefore, he appealed to the Hindus for assistance and co-operation. And his appeal did not go in vain. The Congress joined hands with the League in the Central Legislature. As a result, all the Government Bills were thrown out with cool ruthlessness. The news was welcomed by the

Qaid-e-Azam. This was regarded as the glorious herald of better understanding between the major Political parties. Even the Government could not remain unimpressed with this display of united fireworks in the Assembly under the very nose of the Viceroy.

Lord Wavell examined the whole situation in a roseate mood. He saw the hope of co-operation between the Congress and the British as well as between the League and the Congress. Consequently, the Congress prisoners were trickled out of British cells. Mr. Gandhi, the "Mickey Mouse" was the first to see the light of day. Out of the Aga Khan's Palace he trod forth on the dusty roads. Immediately after his release the Hindu press began to play up the Congress at the cost of the League. Requests were coated with diplomatic sugar. The British Government was advised to avail of the friendly atmosphere created by the friendly gesture of Gandhi's release. Nor were the British politicians to reap a harvest of goodwill in the kingdom of the cows. But Mr. Amery, the arch-imperialist, refused to have any truce with Mr. Gandhi, the "arch rebel of Mr. Churchill's phrase. It drove Mr. Gandhi to desperation and all eyes were focussed on the Malabar Hill whither Mr. Gandhi had to go to have a warm political shake-up with the League Leader.

Deasi-Liaqat formula of fifty-fifty Hindu-Muslim representation followed the Gandhi-Jinnah talks. The Wavell flight to London followed the Desai-Liaqat Formula Lord Wavell's flight to India was followed by another flight to London. This to-and-fro visit hatched the Wavell Plan. In other words, Lord Wavells' plan followed Lord Wavell's visit to Churchill, Amery & Co. The Simla Conference followed the Wavell plan : All these things took place with a remarkable tardiness that added to the zest of the show. The Congress and the League Leaders met at Simla. They met and talked

under the chairmanship of the generous host. The generous host was of course Lord Wavell. He found accommodation for the leaders and also footed their bills (for aught I know). But as the leaders met and talked, so they talked and parted. Nothing came out of it, because the Congress " Cat " refused to yield to the political formula that Muslim League alone shall select the Muslim nominees. Although the Simla Conference failed, it brought the knotted problems into the limelight and clarified the respective positions of the mojor parties. The demand for Pakistan has become stronger than ever and the elections have fully and finally decided the issue.

Mr. jinnah is fully convinced that the problem of don,t-kill-our-cows and let-us-play-music before-your-mosques cannot be solved without Pakistan. Thus the League Leader is completing the citadel the foundation stone of which was laid by Sir Sayed. He is erecting a wall to stop the rot of degeneration in Muslim ranks. In vain will the Congress Cat knock its head against the stronghold of Pakistan. Since the Muslims don't want music before their mosques and the Hindus don,t want their sacred cows to be slaughtered, it is but natural that they should shake hands amicably and part as friends rather than meet as enemies. This is a simple formula of friendship which the League Lion has sought in vain to hammer home into the head of the Congress Cat.

Mr. Jinnah has brought the Muslims back from Hindudom into the arms of Islam. "To me Hindus, Muslims, Parsis, Harijans' are all alike," said Gandhi " I cannot be frivolous when I talk of Qaid-e- Azam jinnah. He is my brother." Mr. Jinnah was not slow to reply to this gesture of friendship. " The only difference is this," said Jinnah. "that brother Gandhi has three votes and I have only one. "Mark the deep poli-

tical irony! Mr. jinnah is prepared to co-operate with Mr. Gandhi, provided he knows that the Hindus and the Muslims enjoy equal political status in the country. He cannot bear that the rights of the Muslims of India should be snatched away,by the Hindus. Socially he is a brother to Mr. Gandhi, but politically a Muslim cannot be the brother of a Hindu, because there is a great gulf of political interests between them. If Mr. jinnah insists on Pakistan, it is because he believes that Hindus and Muslims as separate nations will be able to develop better brotherly relations than they are capable of doing now.

Two neighbourly nations can be much more friendly then the individuals of two nations jumbled together without mutual understanding. Mr. Jinnah wants Mr. Gandhi to be proud of Hinduism instead of swashbuckling the bastard Hindu-Muslim unity in the country when it does not really exist. "Why should not Mr. Gandhi be proud to say, I am a Hindu, Congress has a solid Hindu backing?," asks jinnah. " I am not ashamed of saying that I am a Mussalman. The Muslim League has a solid Muslim backing." Even a blind man is convinced of this. But the Congress and the Congressites are not convinced. They are deliberately trying to deceive themselves and to deceive the world. "Why then all this camouflage? Why all these machinations ? Why all these methods to coerce the British to overthorw the Mussalmans? Why this declaration of non-operacotion? Why this threat of civil disobedience?" These are searching questions that might make anybody pause and think. But these searching questions can neither search nor question the mind of Mr. Gandhi, because he can neither pause not think.

There is no doubt that the supreme hour has come, the bell of destiny has tolled and now the true goal of Muslim India must be determined. It isn,t possible for

Muslims to let the cows with their musical bells saunter along unconcerned before the sacred mosques. Let Hindustan protect the cows and play the band (even to the cow) as often as it might. The best that Pakistan can do is to have milk without the dirty cows and bells without their nerve racking music. Let the Hindu souls flourish on cow- protection; the Muslim bodies should not be deprived for an occasional chop of beef in order to please the susceptabilities of the sacred cows. For a small piece of territory for their cradles and thier graves the Muslims are prepared to lease out the whole Garden of Hindustan to Hindus, the Hindu gods, stone statues, and the sacred cows of Aryavarta.

Pakistan is the only way for "our people," says jinnah, "to develop to the fullest our spiritual cultural, economic, social and political life in a way that we think best and in consonance with our own ideals and according to the genius of our peoples." Pakistan has been described by the Hindu press as the process of " killing the cow." That is entirely a wrong interpretation. Pakistan means full rights of independence for the cows in Hindustan. Pakistan is the determination of the Muslims to carve out ther own homeland and to mould their own destiny. The Muslims want to be the builders of their own future and the captains of their fate. The children of Islam do not want to sink or swim together with the sons of Hindustan. The Muslims do not want to submit their interests into the hands of a tribunal, not do they accept the British hands of a tribunal, nor do they accept the Britsh arbitration. They claim partition as their birthright, as members of a separate nation.

is this: We want the establishment of completely independends States in the north-west and eastern zones of India and full control finally of defence, foreign affairs, communications customs, commerce and ex-constitution of an All-India character with one Government at the Centre. We wil never agree to that. If we once agree to that, let me tell you, the Muslims will be absolutely wiped out of existence. We shall never be tributaries of any power or any government at the Centre so far as the north-west and eastern zones of our free national homelands are concerned."

The Congress has been trying all along to knock the Muslim League out of the political picture at once and altogether. In that respect it has not failed to seek, even though it failed to get co-operation of the British Government. " The acid test of Mr. Amery's ability," said Satyamurthi," and earnestness will be his saying to the Muslim League, no Pakistan, no coalition ministries, no impossible safeguards, you must settle with the majority. Once he says that, the rest will be easy." We have no doubt then it will be easy for the Congress to swallow the Muslim League, for Mr. Gandhi to grab Mr. Jinnah. for Hindus to absorb the Muslims, and for Hindustan to eliminate Pakistan.

Hindus are socially intolerant, even though politically they may be very tolerant. Social narrow-mindedness at once becomes a focus for political generosity. If Hindus could be socially generous the Muslims would not have been compelled to register their demand for Pakistan. The Hindus themselves are responsible for the Muslim struggle for self-determination. The Muslims have an inborn abhorrence of the nubearable treatment the Hindus mete out to them. It is the political genius of the Hindus that attracted the cream of Muslim nationhood. The flower of the Muslim youth have

perished to strengthen the political hold of the Congress on the masses. Not long ago Mr. Jinnah himself was the "Ambassador of Unity" on the Congress platform. The efforts of the Indian National Congress have not been crowned with success. It has failed to nationalize the country. The Congress did not succeed, because it did not proceed on scientifiic lines. Now the Muslim League has offered a scientific solution. This solution is Pakistan. By working up to this, all the troubles of communalism can be swept off like a cobweb. Hindus of the Mahasabha mentality are responsible for the seeds of communalism. But now the whole of India must reap its evil harvest.

Let us frankly confess that the Hindus and Muslims are two nations, not one. The Hindus and Muslims have always been ready to fly at each other's throats. Mr. Jinnah was once a resourceful man. He alone could have fused the two nations together. The coming of Mr. Gandhi has been the greatest tragedy for India. His religious politics has driven out of field the political ethics of Mr. Jinnah Mr. Gandhi has wrecked the ideals of Dadabhoy Naoroji, Gokhale and Jinnah. I sincerely wish that Mr. Gandhi had not gone to Africa, and having gone to Africa, he should not have returned to India.

Before the arrival of Mr. Gandhi with his battledoor of civil disobedience, Mr. Jinnah was fairly on his way to fuse the various Hindu-Muslim prejudices into one creative drive. Tilak, Malaviya and Gandhi have done more to revive Hinduism than to consolidate nationalism. And Mr. Jinnah watched their communal fireworks with patience until the cup of bitterness began to overflow. Having understood firmly that the sacred cow was at the bottom of all communal discord. Mr. Jinnah took out his knife to cut into two, promising the Hindus a lion's share of

beef, whether they like it or not, but no living cow with gingling bells to disturb the tranquillity of mosques, and of course not a drop of Indian nationalism. After the establishment of Pakistan there will be a Hindu Nation and a Muslim Nation but no Indian Nation. Indianism will die so that Hinduism may live!

Mr. Jinnah has worked doggedly to find out means of adjusting all quarrels. The Hindus held the sole monopoly of all points of vantage in the country. And they would not give an inch to the illiterate community. So the Muslim League had to drive out Hinduism inch by inch from the strongholds of Islam. The Hindus were not contented with half of the political authority and ran for the whole. The result is that they ran a bit too hard. They have run over the half and missed the goal. It was the greediness of the Congrees Cat for milk and music that intensified the League Lion's craving for beef and undisturbed tranquility. Consequently, once a staunch supporter of joint electorates, Mr. Jinnah is to-day the dauntless advocate of the two-nation theory. And thus the British Tiger has been saved the uncomfortable joint attack from the Congress Cat and the League Lion. India's loss has been Britain's gain.

Mr. Jinnah is a shrewd politician. He would not take to a step unless he knew it is for the good of the Muslim community. At one time he championed and shepherded the interests of the whole of India, but now he put Islam—and rightly—before the country. Always chased by news-mongers, Mr. Jinnah is responsible for the greatest good to the country, because he has formulated the soundest scheme of pacifying the communal disturbances all along the Indian frontiers. He has no faith in airy theories Mr. Jinnah is a practical politician. He believes, like Sir Fazl-i-Hussain, that the communities "seldom

relinquish the advantage over other communities, anp people, hence there is the necessity of hard fight for our rights in the country." As a result of Mr. Jinnah's correct policy and programme, the League "Lion" is jubilant and rosy while the Congress "Cat" is feeling gloomy and blue.

However hard the drums of victory be beaten in the glorious realms of Hindustan, their hoarse music will not invade the pious citadels of Pakistan ! And happily the cows may graze in the luxuriant pastures of Hindustan, and may the Hindus worship them ; but if they cross the boundary of Pakistan, they will provide rich beef for the sons of the soil and the noble children of Islam !

Leaders and Misleaders

"Thus I entered and thus I go,

In triumph people have dropped down dead."

—*Robert Browning.*

INDIAN political zoo is a labyrinth of unsurmountable difficulties. Not all the leaders of India really lead the country. Many of them are contented to be misleaders. All that glitters is not gold. All who wear Khaddar are not Congressmen. Nor are all Congressmen nationalists. Many a man wears Khaddar on his body and silk on his heart, and many a well-dressed gentleman is a nationalist to the marrow of his bones. One fault of Mr. Jinnah is that he loves to be decently dressed. Were he to suspend a loin-cloth on his body this evening, he will wake up to-morrow morning and find himself the Mahatma of the Muslims. His another fault is that he has not yielded to the temptations of the Hindu press. And it is the Hindu press which is the maker and breaker of leaderships in the Indian museum. The Hindu press is the king-maker. And Mr. Jinnah has refused to bend his knees before the king-maker. Consequently, Mr. Jinnah is painted as the orch-misleader of India.

It is worth while to peep into the mind of Jinnah and valuate his status in the theatre of leadership. We must try to find him as he is, and not as the Hindu press makes him out to be. The best method to approach Jinnah is not through press reports, but

through his correspondence with the leaders and misleaders of India. He might have been swept off his feet in his political speeches and presidential addresses, but his political letters are embodiment of cold-considered logic. And there we find Mr. Jinnah at his clearest. And nobody need misunderstand Mr. Jinnah unless one is anxious to mislead the public regarding the noble intentions of the League Leader.

Indian politics is an unfortunate phenomenon Crisis after crisis bad faced our country. Leader after leader has shot up, representing a conflicting school of thought. These leaders and misleaders are invariably antagonistic to one another. Not that they really want to mislead the public. The trouble is that they do not care enough to understand one another. They misunderstand each other. And consequently they mislead themselves. Misleaders are born of a sheer fit of misunderstanding. The chief trouble of India is that the Congress and the Congressites, Gandhi and the Gandhites, do not care a jot to understand the League and the League Leader. India is passing though an age of factions, partisanship and personal rancour. Communal animosity rules supreme. Healthy criticism has been hounded out of political circles. Misrepresentation stamps all other articles of faith. Vilification clouds the real issue of India. The press and the platform are alike busy in mud-slinging. In this dust and din of the political tug-of-war, it is not easy to distinguish friend from foe, a leader from a misleader. In such a heated atmosphere, more than ever, there is a crying need for a dispassionate study.

In the tumultuous clash of interests, political babes shouting for the sun and the moon of Hindustan and Pakistan, clarity of criticism and clearness of conscience becomes the very point round which controversy must revolve. A crystal clear understanding alone can form the diamond ridge

between the two currents of contradictory waters led by the leaders and misleaders of India. On the basis of this principle the correspondence of Mr. Jinnah is the only yard with which we can measure him up against his opponents. From the platform Mr. Jinnah might be misleading the public against the Congress and from the press the Congress might be misleading the public against Mr. Jinnah, but in their correspondence all the leaders stand out in their London-like loveliness witnessed by Wordsworth from the Westminister Bridge :

Dull would he be of soul who would pass by

A sight so touching in its majesty.

Indian political thought has nothing to show fairer than the correspondence of the leaders.

The diplomatic domes, the intellectual turrets, the propaganda steeples, the selfish ships and the political theatres of the various leaders and misleaders are steeped in the light of the morning and they are visible from a long distance from the fields and from the sky. Never in hills, valleys aud dales of pulpit, press and platform, did we ever see the leaders in the glorious nakedness of sunrise. The political river of India glideth at its own sweet will. And the mighty heart of political thought lies asleep. But in order to arrive at the sunrise of uuderstanding we must approach them in the spirit of Bacon. We should read them neither to contradict nor to confute. We should neither believe them nor take them for granted. Nor should we try to seek discourse and discussion in them. On the other hand we should weigh them in the balance. And if we weigh them in the balance, we shall not find them wanting. Consequently, there is the paramount need for cool consideration.

Let us begin with the correspondence of Mr. Jinnah with Lord Linlithgow. And we shall conclude with the correspondence of Lord Linlithgow with Mr. Jinnah. The British Government is the chief party, occupying the position of a monkey weighing cheese between the two cats. Hence it must come first. And it must come last. The British Government is the be-all and end-all of British India. Consequently it must be given the first and the foremost, the last and the lasting attention. After the British comes the Congress. And Mr. Gandhi is the pivot of the Congress. To understand Mr. Gandhi is to understand the Congress, as to understand Lord Linlithgow is to understand the British Parliament. We shall deal with Mr. Gandhi after Lord Linlithgow in the beginning, and we shall deal with Lord Wavell after Mr. Gandhi towards the conclusion. Lord Wavell and Lord Linlithgow as much represent the same spirit as does Mr. Gandhi, for while the Viceroys come and go, the Mahatmas go on for ever.

From " M. A. Jinnah Esq., President, All-India Mushim League" a letter went forth to Lord Linlithgow in November, 1939 in which Mr. Jinnah demanded things which every Congressite would stand on his feet and applaud :

"(1) That as soon as circumtstances may permit or immediately after the war the entire problem of India's future constitution, apart from the Government of India Act 1935. shall be examined and reconsidered *de novo* ;

"(2) That no declaration shall, either in principle or otherwise, be made or any constitution be enacted by His Majesty's Government or the Parliament without the

approval and the consent of the two major communities of India, *viz.*, the Mussalmans and the Hindus;

"(3) That His Majesty's Government should try and meet all reasonable national bemands of the Arabs in Palestine;

"(4) That the Indian troops will not be used outside India against any Muslim power and country."

These are demands which the Congress "Cat" might blush to claim as her own. Mr. Jinnah has often been looked down as anti-Indian, anti-Hindu, and even anti-Muslim. These four demands clearly prove that Mr Jinnah is as good a patriot as Mr. Gandhi, a very good friend of the Hindus and the great leader not only of the Indian Muslims, but the entire Muslim world.

Mr. Jinnah is ready to co-operate with the Hindus and the British on the basis of Pakistan. Pakistan is the very stuff of the Muslim demand. "No Pronouncement or statement should be made by His Majesty's Government," wrote Mr. Jinnah, "which would, in any way, militate against the basic and fundamental principles laid down by the Lahore Resolution of division of India and creating Muslim States in the North-West and Easten zones; and it may be stated that the ideal has become the universal faith of Muslim India." And upon this point Lord Linlithgow gave a categorical assurance to Mr. Jinnah :" I informed you in the conversation first," he said, "that my statement clearly safeguarded the Muslim position in relation to future constitutional developments." If there is vagueness in Jinnah-LInlithgow correspondence, it is all on Linlithgow's side. While Mr. Jinnah tried to give a clear

lead, Lord Linlithgow vaguely misled Mr. Jinnah and the Musilms of India. Vagueness is the plague of British diplomacy.

Mr. Jinnah had his first recent correspondence with Mr. Gandhi in October, 1937. Mr. Jinnah had sent Mr B. G. Kher with a special message to Gandhiji about Hindu-Muslim unity. "Kher has given me your message," wrote Mahatma Gandhi to Shri Jinnah in the previous May. "I wish I could do something, but I am utterly helpless. My faith in unity is as bright as ever : only I see no day-light out of the impenetrable darkness, and in such distress I cry out to God for light." God alone knows what Gandhi means ! It requires Gandhi to explain Gandhi. The religious cloak of Mr. Gandhi is the real cloak on the wits of nationalist leaders. Mr. Gandhi never talk like a human being. He just misleads the human beings by talking like an angel. No wonder, Mr. Jinnah's speech at Lucknow was a thunderbolt. "As I read it," wrote Mr. Gandhi, "the whole of your speech is a declaration of war. Only, I had hoped you would reserve poor me as a bridge between the two. I see that you want no bridge. I am sorry. It takes two to make a quarrel. You won't find me one, even if I cannot become a peace-maker."

Poor me ! Rubbish ! This is all mockery. Mr. Gandhi really started the quarrel by writing the sort of letter he did. And then he aspired to be "a bridge" between Hindus and Muslims ! Having started the quarrel, at once he became a peace-maker. Having set the communal harmony on fire, he joined the fire-brigade ! Mr. Jinnah sent him a correct and clear-cut answer :

"I am sorry you think my speech at Lucknow is a declaration of war. It is purely in self-defence. Kindly read it again and try to understand it. Evidently you

have not been following the course of events of the last twelve months."

"As to reserving you as a 'bridge' and 'peace-maker,' don't you think your complete silence for all these months has identified you with the Congress leadership, although I know that you are not even a four-anna member of that body."

"I regret to say that I find nothing definite or any constructive proposal in your letter under reply, except that it is written in all good faith and out of an anguished heart which I reciprocate."

Mr. Gandhi in his next letter went out of the current controversy and attacked the roots of the League Leader in the past with his characteristic sentimentalism. "You seem to deny," said Mr. Gandhi, "that your speech was a declaration of war, but your later pronouncement too confirms the first impression. How can I prove what is a matter of feeling ? In your speeches I miss the old nationalist. When in 1915, I returned from the self-imposed exile in South Africa, everybody spoke of you as one of the staunchest of nationalists and the hope of both Hindus and Muslims. Are you still the same Jinnah ? If you say you are, in spite of your speeches, I shall accept the word." What a query? And mark the tone of petronising irony. It would throw any man into bottomless indignation. But Mr. Jinnah is not the man to lose temper. "You say," he said, "that when in 1915 you returned from South Africa, everybody spoke of me as one of staunchest of nationalists and the hope of both the Hindus and Muslims, and you ask me a question, 'Are you still the same Jinnah?" and proceed further to say, 'If you say you are, in spite of your speeches, I shall accept your word.' And you say that in my speeches you miss the old nationalist. Do you think that you are justified in

saying that? I would not like to say what people spoke of you in 1915 and what they speak and think of you to-day. Nationalism is not the monopoly of any single individual, and in these days it is very difficult to define it; but I don't wish to pursue this line of controversy any further."

"Lastly you want me to come forward with some proposal," wrote Mr. Gandhi in a most exasperating manner. "What proposal can I make except to ask you on bended knees to be what I thought you were; but the proposals, to form the basis of unity between the two communities, have surely got to come from you."

"I think," wrote Mr. Jinnah with dignified calm, "you might have spared your appeal and need not have preached to me on your bended knees to be what you had thought I was."

Mr. Jinnah, however did clarify the whole position: "We have reached a stage," he said, "when no doubt should be left that you recognise the All-India Muslim League as the one authoritative and representative organization of the Muslims of India and, on the other hand, you represent the Congress and other Hindus throughout the country. It is only on that basis that we can proceed further and devise a machinery of approach."

"Your letter revives painful memories," said Mr. Gandhi.

The very idea that Mr. Jinnah represents the Muslim League and the League represents the Muslims is painful to the head and heart of Mr Gandhi. Being himself the Iron Dictator, it runs iron in his soul to find the League Leader as his rival in the political arena of

India. But a fact is a fact. And nothing but a dogged indifference induces Mr. Gandhi to turn a deaf ear and a blind eye to the growing power of the Muslim League as the voice of Muslim India.

"Have you seen the light ?" asked Jinnah.

"No ! replied Gandhi.

The trouble is that Mr. Gandhi can see no light except that which comes from within. The sun, the moon, and the stars are only cloudy symbols of a high romance. He tries to chase their shadows with the magic hand of chance. Away from earth and earthiness he stands also on the brink of the earth, trying to see his Inner Vision and to hear his Inner Voice till National Unity and Political Independence sink to nothingness. On the Deliverance and Thanksgiving Day, declared by Mr. Jinnah Mr. Gandhi had the following telegram from Gulbarga Muslims:

" Deliverance Day greetings, Qaid-e-Azam Jinnah Zindabad."

Mr. Gandhi took it as a message to ruffle his feelings. The senders little knew that the wire could not serve its purpose. When Mr. Gandhi received it, he silenty joined the sender in the wish:

"Long live Qaid-e-Azam Jinnah!"

The Qaid-e-Azam is an old friend of Gandhi. What does it matter that they do not see eye-to eye in some matters? That makes no difference in the goodwill of Mr. Gandhi towards Iinnah "Your premises," said Mr. Jinnah, "are wrong as you start with the theory of an Indian Nation that does not exist, and naturally, therefore, your conclusions are wrong. It

is partly due to the fact that Mr. Gandhi led a secluded life at Segaon, partly because all his actions are guided by his Inner Voice that Mr. Gandhi has little concern with realities. "I sometimes wonder," wrote Mr. Jinnah, "what can be common between practical politics and yourself, between democracy and the dictator of a political organization of which he is not even a four-anna member. But that is, I suppose, because you do not want to consider the Congress worthy of your membership."

Mr. Jinnah brings into limelight a vital contradiction in the character and career of Mr. Gandhi. "To-day," wrote Mr. Jinnah, "you deny that religion can be a main factor in determining a nation, but you yourself, when asked what your motive in life was 'the thing that leads us to do what we do' whether it was religious, or social or political, said : Purely religious ! This was the question asked me by the late Mr. Montagu when I accompanied a deputation which was purely political. 'How you, a social reformer', he exclaimed, 'have found your way into the crowd ?' My reply was that it was only an extension of my social activities. I could not be leading a religious life unless I identified myself with the whole of mankind, and that I could not do unless I took part in politics. The gamut of man's activities to-day constitutes an indivisible whole. You cannot divide social economic, political and purely religious work into water-tight compartments. I do not know any religion apart from human activity. It provides a moral basis to all other activities which they would otherwise lack, reducing life to a maze of 'sound and fury signifying nothing" ?

Mr. Jinnah regards Mr. Gandhi as the true leader of the Hindu masses. He commands the confidence of Hindu India. He alone is in a position to deliver the

goods on their behalf. "Is it too much to hope and expect," asks Mr. Jinnah," that you might play your legitimate role and abandon your chase after a mirage?" Events are moving fast. A campaign of polemics and spinning is not going to win India's freedom. Action and statesmanship alone will help us in our forward march." Mr. Jinnah hoped that Gandhi might still rise to his stature and help in the forward march.

Mr. Jinnah carried on his quarrel with Mr Subhas Chandra Bose, after Gandhi had gone and touched the bottom of the ocean of controversy, regarding the representative character of the League. Mr. Bose refused to agree. The doors of the Indian National Congress must be open to all men irrespective of caste, colour, creed or community. It must welcome all Indians who agree with its general policy and methods. The Congress cannot accept the position of representing one community. It cannot become a communal organization. And it cannot commit suicide. Nevertheless the Congress Cat is willing to confer and co-operate with the League Lion. Such is the trend of thought followed by Mr. Bose.

"Already," said Mr. Bose, "the Working Committee has received warnings against recognising the exclusive status of the League. There are Muslim organizations which have been functioning independently of the Muslim League. Some of them are staunch supporters of the Congress. Moreover, there are individual Muslims who are Congressmen, some of whom exercise no inconsiderable influence in the country. Then there is the Frontier Province which is overwhelmingly Muslim and which is solidly with the Congress. You will see that in the face of these known facts it is not only impossible, but improper for the Congress to make the admission which the first resolution of the League Council apparently desires the Con-

gress to make. It is suggested that the status of an organization does not accrue to it by a definition. It comes through the service to which a particular organization has dedicated itself."

To this Mr. Jinnah sent a convincing reply. "The Council is aware of the fact," he said, "that there is a Congress Coalition Government in the N.W.F.P. and also that there are some Muslims in the Congress organization in other provinces. But the Council is of opinion that those Muslims in the Congress do not and cannot represent the Mussalmans of India, for the simple reason that their number is very insignificant, and that as members of the Congress, they have disabled themselves from representing or speaking on behalf of the Muslim community. Were it not so, the whole claim of the Congress alleged in your letter regarding its national character would fall to the ground.

"As regards' the other Muslim organizations' to which reference has been made in your letter, but whom you have not even named, the Council considers that it would have been more proper if no reference had been made to them. If they collectively or individually had been in a position to speak on behalf of the Mussalmans of India, the negotiations with the Muslim League for a settlement of the Hindu-Muslim question would not have been initiated by the President of the Congress and Mr. Gandhi. However, so far as the Muslim League is concerned, it is not aware that any Muslim political organization has ever made a claim that it can speak or negotiate on behalf of the Muslims of India. It is therefore very much to be regretted that you should have referred to 'other Muslim organizations in this connection.

"The Council is equally anxious to bring about a settlement of 'the much-vexed Hindu-Muslim ques-

tion, and it hastens the realization of the common goal, but it is painful to find that subtle arguments are being advanced to cloud the issues and retard the progress of negotiations".

The League Lion and the Congress Cat have a fundamental difference in their outlooks and status. "I am afraid," wrote Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru to Mr. Jinnah in January, 1938, "we approach the question from different view-points, and I feel that your approach is not very helpful." As egoistic as ever! This is indeed a curious way of facing an adversary. There is no use carrying on a controversy through the medium of the press. Mr. Jinnah offered "some kind of a challenge" to Pandit Nehru. And Pandit Nehru has very well shown how a challenge is to be accepted.

"I must say," replied Mr. Jinnah, "that it is very difficult for me to understand it. I fail to see what you are driving at."

A report of Mr. Jinnah's Calcutta speech had appeared in the papers. And it was this which had enraged Pandit Nehru. In that Speech Mr. Jinnah was alleged to have stated that he was fighting the Congress. He was battling against the Congress leadership which was misleading the Hindus. He wanted to bring the Congress High Command to its senses. Further Mr. Jinnah is supposed to have said, "I have long long ago, months ago now, thrown out a challenge to Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru and I throw out a challenge now—let him come and sit with us and let us formulate a constructive programme which will give immediate relief to the poor."

It was this reference which had galled Mr. Nehru. When Mr. Jinnah was reminded of this reference, it

proved an eye-opener. "As regards my Calcutta speech," he said, the word 'challenge' is obviously due to the imagination of the reporter for the very context shows clearly that it was an invitation." It shows the extent to which the Hindu press is capable of vilifying the Muslim League and the League Leader.

Mr. Gandhi has made an attempt to understand the Muslim League, and he has tried to understand the Muslim masses without understanding Mr. Jinnah. Whenever he has chosen to woo one, he decided to flout the other. Thereby he has tried to effect a psychological breach between the Muslim League and the League Leader on the one hand, and the Muslim League and the Muslim masses on the other. Let us take an example. When the Congress was preparing for the "Quit-India" Resolution in August 1942, Mr. Gandhi glorified the Muslim masses to win their support for the stormy days ahead. The entire movement proved abortive due to the iron hand of the British Government. The Congress leaders were safely lodged behind the bars. On coming out of the prison. Mr. Gandhi set the ball of Congress-Muslim League unity rolling There being no radiant hopes of such a coalition Mr. Gandhi went directly up the Mount Pleasant and shook hands with the Qaid-e-Azam. His cap of hope having fallen to the ground, he tried to influence other members of the Muslim League and asked Mr. Jinnah if he could address a meeting of the Muslim League Working Committee. The permission was naturally refused. So Mr. Gandhi once again gave up the Muslim League and the League Leader and turned to the Muslim masses. Threads of the same old propaganda were soon resumed that the Muslim League did not represent the Muslim masses. And the Muslim masses must be consolidated under the Congress flag.

Coming out of the prison unconditionally on

account of ill-health, Mr. Gandhi worte a letter to Mr. Jinnah asking for an interview on July 24, 1944. "My heart says," he said, "that I should write to you. We shall meet wherever you choose. Don't regard me as the enemy of Islam or of the Muslims of this country. I am the friend and servant of not only yourself but of the whole world. Do not disappoint me." This is truly the voice of a sickly child, as no doubt Mr. Gandhi was then. Mr. Jinnah too was recuperating in Kashmir. It was going to be a meeting between two brothers-in-Politics, sick physically as well as politically. Mr. Gandhi's letter smacks as usual of Mahatmaic deviousness. Why can't he write straight like one man to another? And what is the idea of calling yourself a servant of the whole world when you know that you have not been able to serve even your own country? And what purpose can be served by addressing. "Brother Jinnah" when Mr. Gandhi knows that no brotherliness exists between them? Why this self-deception? It sounds a bit too churchy.

One ought to be a fast friend before one can claim brotherhood, but Mr. Gandhi would be a good brother even though a bad friend. If Mr. Gandhi could be so thick with politicians as he presumes to be, if he could dine with wavell and breakfast with Jinnah without sporting his loin-cloth, his goat, and the train of eighty-two journalists with him, the whole cobweb of political controversy would have completely disappeared from India. It is the Vedantic Hinduism to which Mr. Gandhi is wedded and which is the most tragic of all tragic happenings in the political theatre of India.

Compared with Mr. Gandhi's invitation, Mr. Jinnah's response is plain business. "I shall be glad to receive you," he said, "at my house in Bombay on my return, which will probably be about the middle of August. By that time I hope that you will have

recuperated your health fully and will be returning to Bombay. I would like to say nothing more till we meet". And nothing more did Jinnah say till they met on September 9, 1944. They discussed the formula of Mr. Rajagopalachariar. In saying that "the sons of converts," cannot be a separate nation, Mr. Gandhi failed to cast even a thin veil on the contempt he cherishes for Indian Muslims—or shall we say for the Hindus of the past who adopted Islam as their religion ? Gandhi writes to Jinnah :

"In the course of our discussion you have passionately pleaded that India contains two nations, *i e.*, Hindus and Muslims, and that the latter have their homelands in India as the former have theirs. The more our argument progresses, the more alarming your picture appears to me. It would be alluring if it were ture. But my fear is growing that it is wholly unreal. I find no parallel in the history for a body of converts and their descendants claiming to be a nation apart from the parent stock. If India was one nation before the advent of Islam, it must remain one in spite of the change of faith of a very large body of her children.

"You do not claim to be a separate nation by right of conquest but by reason of acceptance of Islam. Will the two nations become one if the whole of India accepted Islam ? Will Bengalis, Oriyas, Andhras, Tamilians, Maharashtrians, Gujratis, etc. cease to have their special characteristics if all of them became converts to Islam ? These have all become one politically because they are subject to one foreign control. They are trying to-day to throw off that subjection.

"You seem to have introduced a new test of nationhood. If I accept it, I would have to subscribe to many more claims and face an insoluble problem.

"The only real, though awful, test of our nationhood arises out of our common political subjection. If you and I throw off this subjection by our combined effort we shall be born a politically free nation out of our travail. If by now we have not learned to prize our freedom we may quarrel among ourselves and for want of a common master holding us together in his iron grip, seek to split up into small groups or nationalities. There will be nothing to prevent us from descending to that level and we shall not have to go in search of a master. There are many claimants to the throne that remains vacant."

Mr. Jinnah could have been equally discourteous to the Hindus, if he had so desired, calling them idol-worshippers or some such thing. But Mr. Jinnah kept his temper. He gave a logical answer to Mr. Gandhi, as far as logic goes in practical politics.

"The third paragraph of your letter," said Mr. Jinnah, "is not seeking clarification but a discussion and is an expression of your views on the point whether the Mussalmans are a nation. This matter can hardly be discussed by means of correspondence. There is a great deal of discussion and literature on this point which is available, and it is for you to judge, finally, when you have studied this question thorougly, whether the Mussalmans and Hindus are not two major nations in this sub-continent. For the moment I would refer you to two publications, altogether they are many more —Dr. Ambedkar's book and M.R.T's "Nationalism in Conflict in India." We maintain and hold that Muslims and Hindus are two major nations by any definitions or test of a nation. We are a nation of a hundred million and what is more, we are a nation with our distinctive culture and civilization, language and literature, architecture, names and nomenclature, sense of values and proportion, legal laws and moral codes, customs and calendar,

history and traditions, aptitudes and ambitions. In short we have our own distinctive outlook on life and of life. By all canons of international law we are a nation."

During the talks there arose the same crazy desire of Mr. Gandhi to represent the whole of India, while all along he has concentrated on orthodox Hinduism and paid scant attention to the welfare of the followers of Islam, culturally as well as politically. The funniest thing was that Mr. Gandhi claimed to represent nobody except himself and yet he stood out as a representative of all communities. Mr. Jinnah gave him a stern reminder. "I understand," said Mr. Jinnah, "that you have made clear to me that you represent nobody but yourself, and I am trying to persuade you and to convert you that this is the road which will lead us all to the achievement of freedom and independence, not only of the two major nations, Hindus and Muslims, but of the rest of the peoples of India. But when you proceed to say that you aspire to represent all the inhabitants of India I regret I cannot accept that statement of yours. It is quite clear that you represent nobody but the Hindus, and as long as you do not realize your true position and the realities it is very difficult for me to agree with you and it becomes till more difficult to persuade you, and hope to convert you to the realities and the actual conditions prevailing in India to-day."

Mr. Jinnah pleaded with Mr. Gandhi in the hope of converting him. He regarded Mr. Gandhi a great man with enormous influence over the Hindu masses. Thus Mr. Jinnah touched a delicate point of leadership so dear to the heart of Mr. Gandhi. Little wonder if Mr. Gandhi grew warm. "Why can you not accept my statement," said Gandhi, "that I aspire to represent all the sections that compose the people of India ? Do you not aspire ? Should not every Indian ? That the aspiration may never be realized is beside the point."

In his letter dated September 21, 1944, Mr. Jinnah gave an excellent analysis of the mind of Mr. Gandhi. It is masterpiece of political logic. It shows that selfconfoundedness is a brilliant jewel in the reasoning of the Mighty Mahatma. Nothing can excel Mr. Gandhi in his habit of breaking all the laws of consistency. He plies his pen and wags his tongue, keeping to a general orbit of policy, and forgetting all that he had said before and all that he might say hereafter. Taking the writings of Mr. Gandhi as a whole, we find that logic in them is cospicuous by its absence. While Mr. Jinnah can maintain continuity of thought year after year, Mr. Gandhi cannot do so hour by hour. The following letter of Mr. Jinnah is an excellent portrait of the Mighty Mahatma.

"You had informed me by your letter of September 11th, as follows : 'It is true that I said an ocean separated you and me in outlook. But that had no reference to the Labour Resolution of the League. The League Resolution is indefinite' I naturally therefore proceeded, in reply, to ask you, by my letter of September 11th as follows : 'You say the Labour Resolution is indefinite. You never asked me for any clarification or explanation of the terms of the resolutions but you really indicated your emphatic opposition to the very basis and the fundamental principles embodied in it. I would, therefore, like to know, in what way or respect the Labour Resolution is indefinite.' And I sent you a reminder on September 13th to which you replied by your letter of September 15th, not cofining yourself really to matters of clarification, but introducing other extraneous matters, with some of which I had dealt in reply to this letter of yours of September 15th, by my letter of September 17th, and furnished you with all the clarifications informing you that you

had introduced several matters which could hardly be discussed in a satisfactory manner by means of correspondence."

This brief extract does not do full justice to the alwyer's genius of Mr. Jinnah. The letter must be read in full to get the humour of it. No wonder Mr. Gandhi realized the grotesqueness of his own position. So he wrote back : "Your letter of yesterday (21st instant) so disturbed me that I thought I would postpone my reply till after we had met at the usual time."

Let there be no doubt that all along Mr. Gandhi was trying to win over Mr. Jinnah by appealing to his heart. That is a dangerous tendency in a statesman. Mr. Gandhi forgot that he was dealing with a brilliant lawyer and not an illiterate crowd. The next two letters threw Mr. Gandhi into mental confusion and put him to rout altogether, and consequently the last may be regarded as an elegy of the peace talks. "Last evening's talk." says Mr. Gandhi, "has left a bad taste in the mouth. Our talk and corresponde nce seem to run into parallel lines and never touch one another. We reached our breaking point last evening, but, thank God, we were unwilling to part."

Then there followed the Desai-Liaqat Formula of fifty-fifty representation for the Congress and the Muslim League. It was transformed into Wavell Plan at 10, Downing Street : into fifty-fifty representation for Hindus and Muslims. Then came the Simla Conference and the historic correspondence between Lord Wavell and Mr. Jinnah. Mr. Jinnah insisted that all Muslim members should be the representatives of the Muslim League. The demand was opposed by the Unionists, the Congressites and the Nationalist Muslims. This is how the Simla Conference foundered.

The failure of the Simla Conference made the future of India dull and dark. Many leaders were warmly calculating in terms of the "honourable ministers" and "silver-liveried orderlies." These were the people who were the warmest in the propaganda of vilification. Politics became a venomous game. Mr. Jinnah became a "scarecrow" in the Hindu press. All blame was thrown upon his awe-inspiring dictatorship. It is difficult as well as futile to apportion blame. Lord Wavell alone stood by Jinnah in this quagmire of muddy politics. And what is more, Lord Wavell is the first Viceroy of India who ever sholudered the entire responsibility for the failure of a Conference. And that is exactly what he did. And he did it nobly.

The Simla Conference was full of leaders and misleaders. It is clear from Mr. Jinnah correspondence with politicians in this chapter how difficult it is to distinguish between an honest patriot and a self-deceiver, a political truth and a political hoax, an economic fact and a spiritul fancy. Selfish misleaders at Simla were responsible for the historic and tragic failure of the leaders.

The Magnetic Man

> "You are the only Muslim in India whom
> the community has a right to look up for
> safe guidance." Iqbal

JINNAH is a mighty man! Jinnah is a magnetic man! Jinnah is a man of the moment!

Mr. Mohammed Ali Jinnah is an eloquent speaker. A brilliant lawyer and a stalwart politician, he is endowed with a captivating account and delivery. There is dramatic touch about his gestures. "As an orator," says Mr. M. R. Duggal, "he has the triple asset of a magnetic personality, an impressive delivery, and a fluent voice. His small mannerisms, gestures, rhetoric and influence of his tone—all play their part in making him a good debator. He has the cogent force of a brilliant advocate rather than the glowing fervour of a fiery orator. And it is not at the public platform but at the bar that he finds full scope for his unusual power of persuasions, luminous expositions and searching arguments".

Mr. Jinnah is a magnificent table-talker. "We have on board," wrote Dewan Chamanlal during a trip to England in May, 1928, "two of the best talkers in India—Mohammed Ali Jinnah and Srinivasa Iyengar. It is no doubt their profession is to talk, but here, away from the political restrictions of their second profession, they talk freely and with refreshing frankness."

During the trip Mr. Jinnah found Mr. Srinivasa

Iyengar reclining in the deck-chair of Dewan Chamanlal wrapped up against the buffeting but sultry breeze. It was the Red Sea. The temperature had gone down by about two degrees.

"Should I lend you a blanket?" asked Mr. Jinnah sarcastically.

"N—o—o—o!" said Mr. Iyengar hesitatingly, induced by Mr. Jinnah's premature laughter.

They had plenty of gleeful talk on board the ship. A great deal of the talk was of a political nature. Mr. Mohammed Ali Jinnah had saved the situation in the Legislative Assembly over the Simon Commission. A spirit of amiability was engendered in the Chamber. Mr. Jinnah thought it would be productive of real unity. But it did not come true. Jinnah was disgusted. Minor differences wrecked all chances of unity.

"Give me," said Mr. Jinnah, "three leaders to join me over a united programme, which was all accepted at Delhi, and Swaraj will not be a mere dream but a matter brought within the realm of real politics."

"Who are these 'Three Musketeers'?" asked Dewan Chamanlal.

"Pandit Motilal Nehru, Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, and Lala Lajpat," said Mr. Mohammed Ali Jinnah.

"The first problem to solve and settle," continued Mr. Jinnah, "is the problem of Hindu-Muslim unity. This is not a mere phrase. It is a concrete proposition. I have talked even on board the ship with Indians belonging to every conceivable political group and one deplores the intransigence of the leaders in not arriving

at a settlement regarding the three issues named by me. Will the nation go to wreck and ruin if compromises and even surrender take place on these issues? And suppose we did settle the problem. I say that, then, the united voice of the nation would be irresistible."

The three issues were (1) Separation of Sind from Bombay, (2) Reforms for the N. W. F. P., and (3) Majority representations by reservation.

"I have heard," said Chamanlal, "gossip has it that certain leaders in fact did not desire a settlement."

"Yes," said Mr. Jinnah, "it's true. Personal motives have taken the upper hand."

"But the people did want a united front."

"Yes," said Jinnah. "Why, in Bombay the *hartal* which greeted the Simon Commission was entirely a spontaneous affair. I tell you if I had gone round Bombay with my colleagues on that day, not a shop would have remained open, and yet in spite of us, the *hartal* was as complete as the circumstances permitted."

"Perhaps," said Chamanlal, "one of the tragedies of the situation was that several of our leaders were trying to cope with a modern situation with out-of-date methods.

"Yes," said Jinnah, "it is not possible to run a Rolls Royce with knowledge only of the bullock-cart!"

Then they talked of Egypt and India as an analogy.

"Why could the Egyptians succeed," asked Chamanlal, "in being a perpetual menace to the peace

of mind of Sir Austen Chamberlain and why could we not do the same to Lord Birkenhead ?"

"The moment Sir Austen Chamberlain made a discourteous remark about Egypt," said Mr. Jinnah "out would come the students of Al-Azhar and black flags and processions of protest would be the order of the day. Organization is what we lacked, and organization on economic and not emotional lines."

Mr. Jinnah realized the great potential power of organized labour. He was alive to the danger of methods preached by Mr. Gandhi. Mr. Gandhi was trying to run a Rolls Royce with knowledge only of the bullock-cart.

"We talked of Gandhi," writes Dewan Chamanlal. "Humorously he alluded to the frantic attempts made by Mahatma Gandhi and Umar Sobhani to rope him into the Non-co-operation Movement. He said he felt that the movement would fail. I said he was mistaken. The movement nearly succeeded. It failed because the Mahatma was not a politician. Jinnah agreed with me that if Mahatma Gandhi had only a touch of Lenin in him, the history of the last few years would have been different."

"Gandhi is not a politician," said Jinnah. "I wish he had been."

S.S. Rajputana was proud of the brilliant conversationalist she was carrying on board. Mr. Jinnah is a captivating talker. "Jinnah,,' writes Dewan Chamanlal, "is frankly in a despondent mood. He is one of the few men who have no personal motives to nurse or personal aims to advance. His integrity is beyond question. And yet he has been the loneliest of men. He has never belonged to any party unless he himself

was the party. Not that he has ever refused to work shoulder to shoulder with others (as for instance in the case of Nationalist Party of 1924), but he has never allowed any man to compromise his sense of integrity. Mr. Jinnah was not going to Europe merely for a joy-ride. Great things were bound to happen during his stay in London. Serious attempts were expected to be made to "get at" him. "We shall see what we shall see," goes the French saying. And so Dewan Chaman-lal was not worried about London. Here on board the ship he was all attention to Mr. Mohammed Ali Sinnah. Just as he closed his chapter of St. Jinnah of the Mount Pleasant, the ship was near Mount Sinai where the Lord spoke to Moses.

St. Jinnah ! Perhaps Dewan Chamanlal has good reasons for conferring this title on the League Leader. There is a well-known story of the law-courts. It reveals the type of man Mr. Jinnah is. A client came to him one day and asked his advice. The file was a volumious one and Jinnah's fees enormous.

"I have only ten thousand rupees with me,', said the client.

"I am sorry," said Jinnah. Eventually the client pressed. He suggested that Jinnah should stop looking at the file the moment the fee of ten thousand was exhausted. It was an arrangement as so much per hour. Mr. Jinnah was to give his opinion on what he had read by the time the fee was exhausted. When the accounts were made up the fee came to three thousand five hundred. The balance was handed over by Jinnah to the client !

Mr. Jinnah had to face a great physical ordeal during the Lahore Session of the Muslim League. An unfortunate situation had developed due to a clash be-

tween the Khaksars and the Punjab Government. It resulted in the loss of life on the side of the Khaksars. The feelings of the Punjab Muslims were excited. It drove them to frenzy. The position of Sir Sikander Hayat Khan became very awkward. Muslim opinion was fierce against him. He was exposed to personal danger. The incident was found handy by the enemies of the League. They incited public opinion against the League Leader. Mr. Jinnah was not unmindful of what was happening around him. The sympathisers of Khaksars threatened Mr. Jinnah. They insisted that the League must take up the matter. The League must deal with Sir Sikander in a befitting manner. It was urged that Mr. Jinnah should interview the Khaksar leaders. The conduct of the League was being openly criticised by the riff-raff of the city. "The Khaksars were made to believed that Jinnah would leave Lahore after having successfull evaded the issue." The Khaksars threatened the peaceful atmosphere of the League Session. The personal safety of the League Leader was equally at stake. The atmosphere was tense with excitement and uncertainty.

Mr. Mohammed Ali Jinnah decided to address a public meeting. It was a huge gathering of the Leaguers. the Khaksars and the Muslims at large. Hundreds of thousands of people came round to hear the League Leader. Public feelings were in a state of pent-up excitement. The mob sentiment wanted an expression. And there could by no fitter voice than that of Mr. Mohammed Ali Jinnah. But Jinnah was not thought fit to lead a mob movement. Nor was he looked upon as competent to restrain mob emotions. The huge gathering showed signs of a violent outbreak. But Jinnah appeared well-groomed, well dressed, tall and slim. He proved to be a man of nerves. Experience and courage were written on his face. Calmly he came. He walked with royal dignity, and ascended the dais. Calm in

his demeanour, he cracked a few jokes—and cheered those sitting around him. In the ocean of imminent rowdyism, he greasefully lighted a cigarette with complete equanimity. He allowed the public imagination to roam with the fairy puffs of smoke.

In a short while the eyes of the audience were riveted on him. An atmosphere of expectancy over-hung the sething ocean of the audience. Sky-rending shouts filled the air. The public demanded justice—or blood. Mr. Jinnah raised his magnetic hand. He bade his audience to be quite. A pin-drop silence ensued. For the first time Mr. Jinnah found himself outside the comfort able circle of friends and followers. Here was a fiery crowed, containing more foes than friends. Jinnah gauged his strength. His sheer service had earned him dogged devotion from his faithful followers. He felt how much confidence Mussalmans of India had reposed in him. A demonstration of overwhelming affection heartened Mr. Jinnah. 'If our hopes are dupes,' he could say with the poet, "our fears may be liars," Jinnah's fears were liars. Jinnah's hopes were not dupes. Beyond the smoke of public excitement his friendly hopes chased away the hostile fears. And Mr. Jinnah found himself master of the political field.

Mr. Jinnah was armed with self-reliance. His self-reliance disarmed his enemies. The weight of his judgment crushed the headstrong audience. The justice of his cause overwhelmed hostility. His courage of conviction cheered up the most heavy-hearted. His determination to give the right lead took the upper hand of those who were scrambling for a fight with the Unionist Government. Mr. Jinnah virtually saved the Unionist Party from disruption and disorganization. Face to face with the excited crowed, Mr. Jinnah had a problem in checking himself from excitement and from being completely swept off his feet. A few magnetic

words from the magnetic leader reassured every troublesome person in the howling crowd.

Mr. Mohammad Ali Jinnah had, as he always has, the cause of the people at his heart. He was determined to do everything in his power to see that justic is meted out to Khakhsars. He told the audience that there was no cause for anxiety. The meeting terminated peacefully. Jinnah enlisted the support of thousands of Muslims and shepherded them into the League fold.

An urgent resolution was moved from the chair. The Muslim League put on record its deep sense of sorrow for the unfortunate and tragic occurrence on March 19, 1940, owing to a clash between the Khaksar and the police. It resulted in the loss of a large number of live and injuries to many more. The Muslim League sincerely sympathised with those who had suffered and their families. The session called upon the Government to appoint an "independent and impartial committee of inquiry." The personnel of this committee should command perfect confidence. The session authorised the Working Committee to take necessary action forthwith. It also urged upon the various Governments that the order declaring the Khaksar organization unlawful should be removed.

Mr. Jinnah assured the Muslim that the Muslim League would not rest until the Khaksars got justice. Mr. Jinnah requested the Leaguers, the Khaksars and the general Muslim masses to put their heads together and their shoulders to the wheel of the cause. When the time for inquiry came, they should put the available material before the invistigating authority. The resolution was passed unanimously by the Working Commttte (between 9 p.m and 2 a.m) overnight before it was put before the Muslim Nation. The resolution represented the considered opinion of Muslim stalwarts.

It was moved from the chair to restrain passions. The matter was *sub-judice*. "It will not be in the fitness of things," said Jinnah, "that on the one hand we ask for an inquiry and on the other we pronounce our judgment."

Mr. Jinnah did not forget the Khahsars. He could not. At the close of the session he again referred to the tragedy. He said that he was much perturbed by the wanton firing on innocent people. He was advised not to hold the session of the League. But he had the fullest faith in his people. So he brushed aside all objections. He made up his mind not to postpone the session. And the session was a magnificent success. It was a landmark in the history of the Muslims of India. The Khakhsar tragedy lent a poignant touch to the emotional atmosphere. The absence of a magnificent procession was made up by the magnificent overflow of sympathy for the Khaksars. The tragedy found the Muslim Nation united to a man. It demonstrated the enthusiasm of the Muslim masses under the most trying condition.

The enemies of the Muslim League wanted to mar the Session. Mr. Jinnah foiled their attempts. And their attempts failed. The session concluded successfully. The deliberations were conducted in an atmosphere of high seriousness, free from violence of passion which were running high. It was the acid test. The Muslim passed through the acid test with characteristic calmness. When the blood was boiling, there were no bloody demonstrations. Jinnah was happy. And he had good reason to be happy. When thirty Muslims were shot dead, it was no child's play to keep the Muslims calm. It required the heels of a giant or the voice of an angel to pacify the mob. Mr. Jinnah spoke with the voice of an angel. And the wonder was wrought. He said : "Let there be peace.,, And there was peace.

"You have demonstrated to the world," said Jinnah, "that the Mussalmans are capable of bearing sorrows. You have also shown to the world that you can conduct your business in a gathering of lakhs. It is the finest certificate that can be given to any nation. The prestige of the league was in the hands of Mussalmans of the punjab. I, therefore, congratulate the Punjab Muslim from the bottom of my heart. It gives me courage to serve you all."

Such is Jinnah. Such is the magnetic man. Such is the man of the moment. Such is the Qaid-e-Azam. Such is the St. Jinnah of Mount Pleasant. Such is the only leader of the Muslims of India. Such is the founder of Pakistan. Such is the ambassador of Hindu-Muslim unity. Such is the Muslim Gokhale. "I say to every Mussalman," he says, "that Islam expects you, one and all, to do your duty and stand together as one nation." There cannot be a greater counsel of wisdom from a great man to his people.

The works of the Qaid-e-Azam ought to command the attention of every Muslim in India. He is the saviour of the Muslim masses. And it is essential for every Muslim to acquaint himself with his magnetic personality. His mission deserves the moral and material support of every intelligent Muslim. He has stopped the rot. He has saved the Muslims from Disruption. His sustained efforts have ushered in a new era of Islamic renaissance. His failure will be the failure of the Muslim world. Islam will be cast into shadow in the country of Hindustan.

Mr. Mohammad Ali Jinnah is the man of Mussalmans. His magnetic grip on the Muslim masses is magnificent. The Muslims were becoming bond-slaves to the chariot wheel of Hindudom. And he released them. Virtually like Prometheus he brought

fire for the Muslim community, the fire of hope and heart. The Muslims of India are now no more leaderless as they were, before Mr. Jinnah stepped up to lead them. He had to shake off the Hindu yoke before leading the Muslims. And it wasn't so easy as it might appear. The Muslims were fast becomming Hinduized. It was Jinnah who halted the ignominious process. In him the Muslims have found the new ideal of nationalism in place of the false Hindu gods whom they have shaken into the ocean of oblivion.

Mr. Jinnah has always been disciplined and crystal-Clear in thought. Like a general, he has led his small but brilliant band in the battle for the survival of Islam. He has held out his small force against overwhelming for above the clouds of reactionaryism. He has brought stray sheep back to the fold, and has become the saviour of Muslim India.

"I want the Muslamans," he said to believe in themselves and take their destiny in their own hands. We want men of faith and resolution who have the courage and determination and who would fight single-handed for their convictions though at the moment the whole world may be against them.

Jinnah has infused life into the ranks of the Muslims of India. Under his inspiration the Muslims have reawakened to the political goal of Islam. He has put an inextinguishable flame before his followers. The flame is Pakistan. Every Muslim must follow that Muslim flame, keeping clear of the British Scylla and the Hindu Charybdis.

Jinnah is the man of iron determination, silver voice an golden character. He has made the Muslim Nation the mistress of its own fate. He is the captain of Muslim

Destiny. If Mr. Gandhi has extracted a leadership for himself, Mr. Jinnah has carved out an empire. He has all the qualities of an empire-builder. In any other age he would have been an empire. Today he is the acknowledged king of the Muslim masses. His crown is made of the willing obedience of his millions of followers. Where he to ask them for the sun, they would be glad to give him. "And afterwards," they would say as to the *Patriot* of Robert Browing, "what else?"

It is, however, Jinnah who is leaping at the sun for his loving friends to keep. And were he to come to the fate of the *Patriot*, Mr. Jinnah would be the least sorry for it. He does not worry whether he drops down in triumph or in humiliation. All that he worries about is what he considers to be his duty.

Jinnah has saved the Muslim Nation from being wrecked on the rocks of Hindu-British alliance He alone can man and captain the "ship of destiny" to a comfortable harbour in Pakistan. He is a magnificent embodiment of practical idealism. And the Muslim masses can with cofidence commit there future into his hands. There is no greater champion for the reival of Islam.

Mr. Jinnah has a dogged tenacity of purpose. He holds the cup of reality in a grip of steel. Towards his goal he marches like Nepoleon. Nothing can daunt him. Nothing can stop him. Nothing can keep him away from the goal in sight. He has galvanized the entire Muslim society. He has knit them into an indivisible whole. Clear is his goal. Steady is his gait. Confident is his power. No wonder, he starts on the threshold of a mighty revolution.

Mr. Jinnah is a towering personality, And he holds his own against all the towering personalities of India. He is a stalwart intellectual. He is a giant

among politicians. He is a consummate statesman and the very crown of statesmanship. He leads leaders. The Giant towers high above the Dwarf.

Clear-headedness and open-handedness are the two salient features of this popular hero. He does not sacrifice clarity on the alter of a passionate appeal. He has an encyclopaedic knowledge of the problems that confront him. His thinking is as sharp as lightning. His determination is dogged. His action is dynamic. His lieutenants know no defeat. The rank and file of his followers know no retreat. He is endowed with rare qualities. And these golden virtues have invested him with a clarity of vision which is almost prophetic in its precision. The dazzle of his brillance has paled into insignificance the great galaxy of his political rivals. And now he no more ploughs the lonely furrow. He has a trail of brilliant leadership behind him.

Jinnah has a warmth of feeling towards every Indian, Hindu as well as Muslim. Nay, towards every human being, Indian or non-Indian. As a man, he has few equals. In his outlook in international affairs he surpasses by far that of Mr. Gandhi. His affections of heart are boardly-based and comprise the whole world. His love is founded on the logic of internationalism and is not merely a passing whim of spiritual fancies.

Integrity of purpose is as much a quality of Jinnah as Nehru. Jawaharlal and Mohammad Ali have something refreshingly common between them. They know their mind. They know what they want. Each of them is true to himself. "Thou to theyself must first be true," soid Shakespeare. "Thou canst not then be false to any one." Each of them is a student of Shakespear. And each of them acts up to this principle. Each of them is sensitive and sensible.

Both of them are queer mixtures of the East and the West, neither at home in India nor at home in England. Neither of them has been able to reconcile himself to the medieval philosophy of the Gandhi. Neither of them has reconciled himself to atomic bomb which Mr. Gandhi invented in south Africa. Mr. Gandhi has secured unconditional surrender of certain Indian leaders through means which may not bear the light of criticism. He followed the blitzkrieg methods of Hitler. Had Gandhi stayed in Africa, things in India would have been radically different. Nehru and Jinnah would have formed an excellent team. Before the sledge-hammer of these two dauntless leaders John Bull would not have stayed long. India would have been definitely free. If Egypt and Bhillipines got freedom with much less sacrifice, why did not India with a heavier toll? It is because Gandhi concentrated the nation's energies on the spinning wheel and not on the independence-winning wheel of Hindu-Muslim unity. That is the greatest grudge which Mr. Jinnah nurses against Gandhi. Is this an unholy grudge? Does it smell of selfishness?

Mr. Jinnah has one voice and one goal. He does not blow hot and cold in the same breach. If he drives at Pakistan, it is because he wants Hindustan to prosper. He does not compromise his conscience for a material gain. If he thinks of the Muslims, he also thinks for the Hindus. He wants a free Pakistan so that there may be a free Hindustan. Jinnah is transparently sincere in his political moves. He has the courage of convictions, which is not always an ornament for politicians beyond the boundaries of Pakistan.

Jinnah is dead against political hypocrites. He cannot sail with deceitful diplomats. He is the despair of political adventurers. He prefers a few faithfulls to an indisciplined rabble. He has honest hatred of the

leaders, great or small, who think it worth their while to trade on popular sentiments. He is nobly disgusted with a politican destitute of idealism. He can stand obliquy, but he cannot brook insincerity. He does not treat politics as mere play-acting. For him it is a matter of life and death, because it is a matter of life and death for the Indian people. When he thinks of Muslims, he dose not forget the Hindus.

Jinnah is the most misunderstood man, because he does not hypnotise the people in order to feather his own nest. Where he to play to the gallery, the Hindus as well as Muslims will play the harp to him. Once he did play to the gallery and received a universal chorus of applause. But now he plays only high politics. He does what is the best for the Hindus' not what the Hindus think to be the best for them. If he was once an ambassador of Hindu-Muslim unity. Only he is misunderstood. Jinnah is the most misunderstood man in Asia.

Jinnah is neither a war-monger nor a pacifist. He believes in adapting the political weapon to the circumstances. He does not believe in the battledore of *Satyagraha*. The topsy-turvy regime of civil disobedience does not appeal to him. If Gandhi is the manifestation of Hinduism, Jinnah is a manifestation of Islam. Now Islam believes only in a qualified Satyagraha. And Gandhi should not expect the children of Islam to follow him in sack-cloth and ashes. Jinnah has resisted any such un-Islamic move. And he has won the game against a superior foe.

Mr. Jinnah is a straightforward man and admires straightforwardness. The crookedness of Gandhi does not appeal to him. He does not care for emotionalism. He speaks as a gentleman to a gentleman. Mincing

matters is a characteristic of Gandhi. Such hypocrisy is foreign in Jinnah. He is hated because he is too frank. His frankness has made him a victim of other people's hatred. Since he is true, he is not considered trustworthy. In the teeth of mortal danger. Jinnah is cool and quite and calm and courageous. He looks the danger in the face and keeps his head high above the seething crowd. He never loses his equanimity of temper, poise of body or balance of mind. When he taskes up cudgels in the face of the greatest provocation, he manifests the coolness of Hercules.

The comedy of Gandhi has been the tragedy of Jinnah. The entrance of the one in the political arena spelt exit of the other. Had Gandhi stayed in Africa. Jinnah would have proved the glorious ambassador of Hindu-Muslim unity. He had fairly set the ball rolling when Gandhi came and picked it up. Like a protruding rock Gandhi has interrupted the smooth currents of India politics. Driven out of his hearth and home by his foster-brother, Mr. Mohammed Ali Jinnah has been compelled to carve out a new empire. Not Jinnah but Gandhi, will the future generations hold responsible for the decision of Pakistan.

If the Hindus are a nation, the Muslims are certainly one. If the Hindus are shouting for independence the Muslims cannot be refused a home in India. The doctrine of self-determination is the fate of Pakistan and the child of Mr. Mohammed Ali Jinnah.

GEMS OF JINNAH

I

Three Qualities

"Service, suffering and sacrifice are absolutely essential conditions before we can achieve anything big and secure our rightfull place in the national life of our country."—*Statement in reply to Babu Rajendra Prasad's offer, issued on 26th July, 1937.*

II

Politics and Power

"It does not require much political wisdom to realize that all safeguards and settlements would be a scarp of paper, unless they are backed by power. Politics means power and no relying only on cries of justice or fairplay or goodwill. Look at the nations of the world, and look at what is happening everybody. See what has happened to Abyssinia ; look at what is happening to China and Spain, not to speak of the tragedy of Palestine."—*President Address, Lucknow Section, October, 1937.*

III

Strenthg of Solidarity

"Organize yourselves, establish your solidarity and complete unity. Equip yourselves as trained and disciplined soldiers. Create the feeling *of esprit de*

corps, and of comradeship amongst yourselves. Work loyally, honestly and for the cause of your people and your country. No individual or people can achieve anything without industry, suffering and sacrifies. There are forces which may bully you, tyrannise over you, and intimidate you, and you may even have to suffer. But it is by going through this curcible of the fire of persecution which may be levelled against you, tyranny that may be exercised, the threats and intimidations that may unnerve you, and is by resisting, by overcoming, by facing these disadvantages, hardships, and by suffering and maintaing your true convictions and loyalty that a nation will emerge worthy of its past glory and history and will live to make the future history greater and more glorious not only of India but of the world. Eighty million Mussalmans in India have nothing to fear. They have their destiny in their hands, and as a well-knit, solid, organized, united force can face any danger, and withstand any opposition to its united front and wishes. There is the magic power in your own hands. Take your vital decisions-they may be grave and momentous and far-reaching in their consequences. Think hundred times before you take any decision, but once a decision is taken, stand by it as one man. Be true and loyal, and I feel confident that success is with you."—*Presidential Address, Lucknow Session, October, 1937.*

IV

Jewels of Talents

"Today primary Leagues have been established almost in every district, in every town, and every village. They are gathering the precious stones, rubies, sapphires, and diamonds, the scattered energies and talents of the Muslim community, and when you have got an artistic Jeweller to set them it will be a jewel

which you will be proud of."—*Speech, Muslim University Union, February 5, 1938.*

V

Pacifism

"One member has said that he stands for pacifism. We have got in every country cranks and crooks who stand for pacifism. I forgive him ; he is entitled to his opinion. I want nothing but entire pacifism all over the world. There should be no war. There should be peace and plenty all over the world. I have no objection of any kind if all wars are banned. I am not now concerned with those Honourable members who believe in pacifism. For myself, it is not a question of belief in pacifism, or not believing in pacifism. I believe in saying my neck if I am in danger. I do not want to hurt anybody. I want to be a very good man, but it does not follow that everybody in the world is good and does not want to hurt me. Therefore, I say that it is not really a question of pacifism or non-pacifism. As pratical men, are we going to defend ourselves or not ? That is the question. I say I am going to defend myself."—*Criminal Law Amendment Bill, Legislative Assembly, August 23, 1938.*

VI

Mustafa Kamal Ataturk

"In Kamal Ataturk the Islamic world has lost a great hero. With the example of this great man in front of them as an inspiration, will the Muslims of India still remain in quagmire" ?—*Presidential Address, Patna December 29, 1938.*

VII

Muslim League

"Come into the Muslim League, it is your organization. It is not the property of this man or that man. It is your organization, and you can make it as you like and what you like]"—*Presidential Address, Patna, December 29, 1938.*

VIII

Paramount Power

"What about Jaipur? Seventeen Muslims were shot down like dogs, and we have information, and we believe that information until it is proved to the confrary, that the fire was opened without any warning and without any justification. Where is the Paramount Power ? What is the Paramount Power doing ? I am not asking that you should intervene for the purpose of putting pressure upon the Indian States or to force them into undertaking 'constitutional reforms,'—but this is fundamental and basic principle of maintaining civilized administration. Is this fair-play and justic done to the elementary rights. of citizenship?"—*Finance Bill, Legislative Assembly, March 22, 1939.*

IX

Nationalism

"I am essentially a practical man ; I have been in practical potitics for over a quarter of a century. The words 'nationalism' and 'nationalists' have undergone many changes in thier definition and significance. Some people have a dictionary of their own, but within

the honest meaning of the term I still remain a nationalist.

"I have always believed in a Hindu-Muslim pact. But such a pact can only be an honourable one and not a pact which will mean the destruction of one and the survival of the other. The Congress High Command, unfortunately, are not prepared to grasp the hand of friendship, but would like to destroy the very hand which offered friendship. One does not see much light at present, but you never can say when the two communities would unit. We have a recent example of the German-Soviet pact between two nations which were the bitterest of enemies.

"I say to every Mussalman that Islam expects, one and all, to do your duty and stand by your people as one nation."—*Old Boys' Association, Osmania University, September 28, 1939.*

X

Message of the Quran

"Man has indeed been called God's caliph in the Quran, and if that description of man is to be of any significance, it imposes upon us a duty to follow the Quran to behave towards others as God behaves towards mankind. In the widest sense of the word, this duty is the duty to love and to forbear. And this. believe me, is not a negative duty but a positive one.

"If we have any faith in love and toleration towards God's children, to whatever community they may belong, we must act upon that faith in the daily round of our simple duties and unobstrusive pieties. On this day of Id, there will be no more worthy manifestation of the spirit that is kindled in us through fast

and prayer than to resolve to bring about a complete harmony within our household, within our community and within our country with all its variety of religions and creeds, and work, whether in private life or public for no selfish ends but for the greater good of all our countrymen and finally of all human beings.

"It is a great ideal and it will demand effort and sacrifice. Not seldom will your minds be assailed by doubts. There will be conflicts not only material which you perhaps will be able to resolve with courage, but spiritual also. We shall have to face them, and if to-day, when our hearts are humble, we do not imbibe that higher courage to do so, we never shall. All our leaders, both Muslims and Hindus, continue to be pained, at communal strife. I shall not enter into the history of their causes but there will aries moments when the minds of men will be worked up and when differences will assume the character of a conflict. It is at such moments that I shall ask you to remember your Id prayer and to reflect for a while if we could not avoid them in the light of the guidance given to us by our Quran and that mighty spirit which is Islam. I would ask you to remember in these moments that no injunction is considered by our Holy Prophet more imperative or more divinely binding than the devout but supreme realization of our duty of love and toleration towards all other human beings.

"All social regeneration and political freedom must finally depend on something that has a deeper meaning in life. And that, if you will allow me to say so, is Islam and the Islamic spirit. It is not great speeches and big conferences only that make politics. Several young men have been coming to me to know how they could serve their country.

"Well, young friends, if I touch upon politics to-

night, it is only to tell you, as a word of advice, that we have our rights and our claims in a future India. But we shall not be obstinate about them; for obstinacy will be the negation of the spirit of love and toleration which should fall upon us this Id day, and whole blessing the Prophet commands us to communicate to others. But each one of us can serve our country by disciplining himself and discipline is the essence of this holy period.

"Is one regular in one's habits? Does one sleep at the proper time? Does one keep to the left of the road or abstain from throwing litter on the road? Is one honest and sincere in one's work? Does one render such help as one can to others? Is one tolerant? These may seem small matters, but in them is the nucleus of a self-discipline which will be of immense value in the combined efforts of communities and all creeds towards a greater India. This will be a service to our country which may not bring you in the lime-light of politics, but it will assure you a lasting peace in your hearts in the knowledge that you have contributed your share to making the politician's task easier."—*Speech broadcast on Id Day, November 13, 1939.*

XI

Position of Sikhs

"I always have had an admiration and respect for the Sikh community and I want my Sikh friends to thoroughly study the constitutional problem of India as it stands to-day. I am sure that they would be much better off in the North-West Muslim Zone than they can ever possibly be in a United India or under one Central Government. For under one Central Government their voice would be negligible. The Punjab in any case would

be an autonomous sovereign unit. And, after all, they have to live in the Punjab. It is obvious that whereas in a United India they would be mere nobodies, in the Muslim homelands constituted of the Western Zone of the federated autonomous States, including the autonomous sovereign states of the Punjab, the Sikhs would always occupy an honoured place and would play an effective and influential role."—*Statement on the Lahore Resolution, 1940*

XII

Plague on Both Houses

"There are many people who have access to the press, who find it convenient to say 'plague on both our houses' and are either ignorant of the actual facts and the position or are afraid to speak out frankly and find it easy to beat the Muslim League and the Congress with the same stick." *Statement in reply to the Viceroy's Appeal, May 27, 1940.*

XIII

Intelligentsia

"I would specially appeal to the Muslim students and the intelligentsia to be up and doing. The prosperity and advancement of a nation depend upon its intelligentsia, and Muslim India is looking forward to her young generation and the educated classes to give a bold lead for our guidance and a brilliant record of historical achievement and traditions. Islam expects every Muslim to do his duty, and if we realize our responsibility time will come soon when we shall prove ourselves worthy of a glorious 'past.'—*Birthday Message, December 24, 1940.*

XIV

Partition

"India should be partitioned so that Hindu and Muslims may live as friends and good neighbours and develop according to their own genius." —*Speech on Pakistan, Ahmedabad, December 28, 1940.*

XV

Ambition of Domination

"Any ambition of domination by one over the other must be abandoned, and the sooner that was done, the quicker would be the solution of India's problems."—*Presidential Address, Madras, 1941.*

XVI

The Congress Game

"We stand for freedom and independce, yielding to none in that respect. But the Congress scheme will not bring freedom and independence for the Mussalmans and other minorities of India who will be at the entire mercy of the caucus cabinet. Therefore, we hold that the Congress proposals are short circuiting the paramount and vital issuses in the name of national Government. This has been the beginning and that is what we have been resisting." —*Press Conference, Cripps' Proposals, April 13, 1942.*

XVII

The Muslim Nation

"The difference between the Hindus and the Mus-

lims is deep-rooted and ineradicable. We are a nation with our own distinctive culture and civilization, language and literature, art and architecture, names and nomenclature, sense of values and proportion, legal laws and moral codes, customs and calendar, history and traditions, aptitudes and ambitions. In short, we have our own distinctive outlook on life and of life. By all canons of International Law we are a nation."—*Interview to American Press Representative, July 1, 1942.*

XVIII

Where We Stand

"But however much we may deplore and condemn the Policy of the British Government during the last three years, nevertheless, our position is that of a melon. Whether the melon falls on the knife or the knife falls on the melon, it is the melon that gets cut. Suppose out of bitterness and anger at British policy, I was to say to-morrow : 'Embarrass, non-co-operate with the British Government,' believe me, it will create at least 500 times more trouble than was being experienced to-day. It is not a question of guts. The Mussalmans have five hundred times more guts." —*Press Conference, Delhi, September 13, 1942.*

XIX

To Muslim Women

"It has now become crystal clear to the world that Indian Mussalmans are not a minority but a nation, and as a nation, they want to set up their independent states in those territories where they are in an overwhelming majority. Mussalmans do not want a National Central Government as there is no

Indian nation as such. Some of our fellow-countrymen are placing obstacles in our way, but they can never succeed in their machinations.

"I am glad to see that not only Muslim men but Muslim women and children also have understood the Pakistan scheme. No nation can make any progress without the co-operation of its women. If Muslim women support their men, as they did in the days of the Prophet of Islam, we should soon realize our goal."—*Speech at the Jinnah Islamia College for Girls, Lahore, November 22, 1942.*

XX
Motto

"If we lose in the struggle all is lost. Let our motto be as the Dutch proverb says :

Money is lost nothing is lost ;
Courage is lost much is lost ;
Honour is lost most is lost ;
Soul is lost, all is lost."

(*Presidential Address, Punjab Muslim Students Federation, March 2, 1941.*)

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[illegible]

[illegible]

Money is lost nothing is lost,
Courage is lost much is lost,
Honour is lost most is lost,
Soul is lost, all is lost."

(Presidential Address, Punjab [illegible] Students Federation, March 2, [illegible].)